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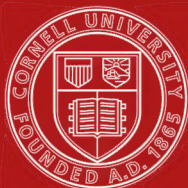
A.B., B. CHEM., LL.B. (HARVARD)

O Lord
For those things
For which we pray
Give us the grace
To labour.

Sir Thomas More

UNDERGRADUATE





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THE PURGATORY OF DANTE



THE PURGATORY

OF

DANTE ALIGHIERI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

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*Quisque suos patimur Manes, exinde per amplum
Mittimur Elysium*

London

MACMILLAN AND CO.

AND NEW YORK

1892

First Edition printed 1880.

Second Edition 1892.

B1019240
G/350 NK

P R E F A C E

THERE can be very little doubt that of late years the serious study of Dante's great poem is beginning to make its way in this country. Formerly, the *Inferno* was read, all through, or oftener in fragments, by young people who were learning Italian; and then they went on to read a little Ariosto, a little Tasso, and so on, till they were considered to be 'finished.' Very few, it may be imagined, ever looked into the *Purgatorio*; almost none ventured on the *Paradiso*. Indeed, the second and third Canticles must have occupied much the same position in the opinion of critics as is held by *Paradise Regained*. Thus Sismondi decides that the interest falls off in the second part of the poem: he seems to look back with regret to the 'horror of great darkness,' varied only by the diverse torments of Hell. In the lively hope which animates 'the folk secure of beholding the light on high,' he can see only a lack of emotion resulting in frigidity; and even the visions and dreams, important as they are to the understanding of the Cantica, seem to him adapted only to awaken the impatience of the reader, in haste to get to the end of the story. The taste of the present generation, less attracted by strong colouring than by delicate and subtle touches, and inclining, in its best mood, rather to reticence than to violent expression of the feelings, keenly sensitive moreover

to the influence of external nature in its various aspects, has, as might be expected, appreciated more justly the merits of the second division of the poem. Thus, Mr. Symonds (*Study of Dante*, chap. v. § 12), directly traversing Sismondi's criticism, points out how full of human interest are the meetings with Casella, Sordello, Statius, and many others. How full, to multiply instances, of a gentle and playful humour are such touches as the by-play which goes on between Virgil and Dante when Statius, not knowing to whom he speaks, expresses his admiration of the *Aeneid*, and his longing to behold its author; or Belacqua's 'Hai ben veduto'; or Oderisi's 'E mio in parte.' How dramatic again Nino's slightly contemptuous mention of 'the Milanese,' for whom his widow, while retaining his name, has forsaken his memory; or Hugh Capet's bitter invective against his unworthy descendants. This is in fact only what we might have expected to find in this part of the poem. Absolute evil, no less than absolute good, is so utterly unlike anything of which our experience of human nature enables us to form a conception, that the attempt to represent it in concrete forms must in proportion to its very success fail to touch our sympathies. Francesca, Peter de Vineis, Brunetto, Guy of Montefeltro, even Ulysses, move us not so much by awe at their terrible fate, or horror at the sins which earned it, as by the traits which show how much of noble and gentle feeling still remains to them in the midst of torments and despair. Ugolino, it may safely be said, awakens in the majority of readers far more of pity for his cruel death than of loathing for the crimes which that death was insufficient to expiate. In Purgatory we find human nature, in a purified form doubtless, but in kind exactly as we know it among those of our fellow-men with whom we are most in sympathy.

The pleasures of memory and the pleasures of hope alike are there, while the present discomfort, or even pain, is just as in this life fully alleviated by both the one and the other. As in this life, too, we find, to use Ozanam's phrase, 'le bien et le mal dans leur rapprochement'; and an opportunity therefore for deeper study of the human heart. Mr. Wicksteed, in the appendix to his *Six Sermons*, points out a good instance of this. 'Never,' he says, 'did Dante pierce more deeply into the truth of things, never did he bring home the *justice* of punishment more closely to the heart, than when he told how the souls in Purgatory do not wish to rise to Heaven till they have worked out the consequences of their sins. The sin long since repented and renounced still haunts us with its shame and its remorse . . . still smites us with a keener pain the closer we press in to the forgiving Father's presence; and we would have it so.' The more thoroughly the reader knows the whole poem, the less hesitation will we have in endorsing the opinion of Balbo, that the *Purgatory* 'è forse in tutto la più bella parte della Divina Commedia, o quella almeno dove meglio si dimostra la più bella parte dell' anima di Dante.' So too Abate Perez of Verona, in his excellent and elaborate study: *I sette Cerchi del Purgatorio di Dante*, while admitting that the *Inferno*, with its more salient points of interest, is most attractive on a first reading, contends that, 'le anime studiose delle più delicate e riposte bellezze morali fan principalmente loro delizia del Purgatorio.' Those who like movement, however aimless, provided that it be violent, will, he thinks, admire the *Inferno*; while those who prefer a constant progress, moral and intellectual, will find what they seek, and an example as well, in the souls who are working their way onwards 'in the love of light, and in the light of love.'

Indeed there are many reasons why the student might do well, after making himself acquainted, perhaps, with the general story, to begin his more minute studies with the second division of the poem. Besides what has been said above as to its general character, it contains, perhaps more than either of the other divisions, the essence, so to speak, of Dante's ethical and political doctrines. The personages introduced are also as a rule more interesting. Lastly, the language is on the whole freer from difficulties of interpretation.

As to the question of translating poetry into prose, which I was at some pains to justify twelve years ago, the time that has since elapsed has made such translations so familiar that I may be excused from retaining what I then said. I may perhaps remark here, that where a question has arisen between a literal and an elegant rendering, I have preferred the former ; my object being, as I have said, not to attempt an addition to English literature, but to aid beginners in understanding that of Italy. Also, wherever it seemed possible to render an Italian word or idiom by a *cognate* form in English, I have not scrupled to do so, even at the cost of an occasional archaism.

I have worked chiefly with Bianchi's edition (Le Monnier) of 1863, which seems to me both in text and notes much superior to Fraticelli's. The notes of 'Philalethes' are invaluable for historical and philosophical information ; and his translation appears to me at once easier and more accurate than that of Herr Witte, if a raw recruit may, without presumption, criticise the leader of living Dantophilists. The notes of the last-named are most useful ; also his larger edition of the text ; though, as he has admittedly employed four MSS. only, his settlement of it can hardly be considered final, nor have I hesitated in occasion-

ally departing from it. I have collated throughout, and given the most noteworthy readings of both the Codex Cassinensis and also one of the three MSS. possessed by the University of Cambridge. This last is a handsome book, with illuminated initials to each Cantica, and to Canto xxviii. of the *Purgatory*. It is fully described by Dr. Moore, *Textual Criticism of the D. C.*, pp. 541-543. Its Commentary, which was written towards 1447, is mainly an abridgement from that of Benvenuto da Imola, which now is accessible in its complete form. The large Venice edition, printed three times, in 1564, 1578, and 1596, with Landino's and Vellutello's notes, is very useful; though Vellutello serves for a warning almost as often as for a pattern. The text is practically Vellutello's, and from his preface he seems to flatter himself it is as correct as human power can make it. John Villani's History is an indispensable companion to Dante, and is the more valuable, because Villani was politically a Guelf, while Dante, though not an absolute partisan of either side, was more definitely at variance with the party which remained in power at Florence after 1302, so that by the help of either we can check the estimate of persons and actions expressed by the other. Moreover, Villani's prose has a good deal of the same straightforward directness as Dante's verse. Herr Blanc's Dictionary (of which I have used the Italian translation, Barbèra, 1859), concordance and commentary in one as it is, may be called an 'epoch-making' book in the history of the study of Dante. It has probably lightened my work at least one-half. The only misfortune is that it is not a Dictionary of Dante's complete works. His *Erklärungen* are also useful; though here, too, that reliance on erudition to the exclusion of taste, which is a common feature of German criticism, makes itself sometimes apparent. Dr. Scartazzini's edition

contains nearly everything that has been said on every line and word ; and therefore necessarily contains much that is of service, but the reader has to make his own selection. The French have done less than the Germans to promote the study of Dante. They have several translations, both in prose and verse, but French people do not as a rule care to understand the literature of other nations, and in this case it looks almost as if Voltaire's contemptible criticism of the 'Divine Comedy' had done a mischief to the taste of the nation in regard to it which, in spite of the efforts of such men as Fauriel and Ozanam, is still not wholly effaced. In English we have, as I have said, many translations, mostly in verse ; some, notably those of Cary, Carlyle, and Longfellow, possessing useful notes, chiefly explanatory, but nothing like a critical edition. Indeed, Dr. Carlyle says that when he first thought of publishing such an edition with English notes, he was told that he would 'make a piebald monstrous book, such as had not been seen in this country.' Since that time, however, people's views have changed, and it seems no longer to be thought necessary that the student of a foreign tongue, whether ancient or modern, should be confined to the use of that very tongue of which he is *ex hypothesi* ignorant, pitched, so to speak, into deep water, in order that he may learn to swim. We no longer teach boys Virgil with the help of Latin notes, why should they not have the benefit of English notes to learn Dante ?

I must thank many friends, among whom I may specially mention Mr. Paget Toynbee, for calling my attention to blunders in the first edition which would certainly have escaped my unaided notice.

October 1892.

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PRELIMINARY NOTE

PURGATORY is figured as an island-mountain, whose summit just reaches to the first of the celestial spheres, that of the Moon, resembling in this the mountain described by Pliny as existing off the west coast of Africa. From this it is not improbable that the notion which Dante adopted was taken. It is exactly at the antipodes of Jerusalem, and its bulk is precisely equal and opposite to the cavity of Hell. The lower part of the mountain forms a kind of ante-Purgatory, in which souls have to wait until they have atoned for delay in repentance. Purgatory proper consists of seven terraces, connected by steep stairways, and corresponding to the seven deadly sins: Pride, Envy, Anger, Sloth, Avarice, Gluttony, Lust. Chaucer's 'Persones Tale' gives a very good view of the mediæval doctrine on the subject of these sins. It seems to me not impossible that Chaucer, who certainly was well read in Dante (for he quotes him more than once), had the *Purgatory* in his mind when he wrote it. On the summit of the mountain is the Earthly Paradise, formerly the Garden of Eden. The earliest representation of Purgatory as Dante imagined it, with which I am acquainted, is in a picture (1465) by Dom. di Michelino, over the north door of the cathedral of Florence. The action of the *Cantica* occupies rather more than three days, beginning a little before sunrise on Easter Day, and ending about noon of the following Wednesday.

PURGATORY

CANTO I

ARGUMENT

Virgil and Dante come out upon the island from which rises the mountain of Purgatory. It is the dawn of Easter Day. They meet Cato, the guardian of the place, and to him explain their coming. By his direction, Virgil washes Dante's face with dew and girds him with a rush.

To speed over better waters henceforth the bark of my wit hoists her sails, for she is leaving behind her so cruel a sea ; and I have to sing of that second realm, where the spirit of man is purified, and becomes worthy to ascend to heaven.

PER correr miglior acqua alza le vele

1441. f. 111 Omai la navicella del mio ingegno,

1442. f. 111 Che lascia dietro a sè mar sì crudele :

E canterò di quel secondo regno,

Ove l' umano spirito si purga,

E di salire al Ciel diventa degno.

¹ **correre acqua.** So Virgil 'Currere aequora.' Cf. Par. ii. 7.

² **omai** contracted from *ora mai* = now and henceforth. Boccaccio however uses it (Day v. Nov. 2) as = by this time. The converse change is illustrated by the late Greek use of *πώποτε* with future, e.g. St. John vi. 35.

³ **che** is used here, and frequently, much like 'which' in English,

But here let the dead strain arise again, O holy Muses, since I am yours; and here let Calliopea somewhat exalt herself, accompanying my chant with that sound, the stroke whereof the wretched Picae felt so great that they lost hope of pardon.

A sweet hue of oriental sapphire which was gathering in the serene aspect of the pure ether up to the prime

Ma qui la morta poesia risurga,
 O sante Muse, poi che vostro sono,
 E qui Calliopea alquanto surga,
 Seguitando il mio canto con quel suono 10
 Di cui le Piche misere sentiro
 Lo colpo tal, che disperar perdono.
 Dolce color d' oriental zaffiro,
 Che s' accoglieva nel sereno aspetto
 Dell' aer puro infino al primo giro,

as a kind of general connecting particle, a use which though now not allowed in literature was once generally recognised. See, for instance, the last verse of St. John's Gospel. Diez iii. 311, 348.

⁷ **risurga**: is this word intended to remind us that it is the morning, almost the hour, of the Resurrection?

⁸ Cf. Inf. ii. 7.

¹¹ The story of the Picae is told in Ov. Met. v. 300 sqq., 663 sqq.

¹⁵ **aer puro**, contrasted with **aura morta**. Elsewhere, however, Dante makes little difference in his use of the two words; only he seems rather to prefer *aura* for the stagnant air of Hell. But see Glossary s.v. *aura*. It must be said that all the first five editions, with a good many MSS., read *dal mezzo* (some having also *scuro*, which looks like the alteration of some one who did not understand it). Post. Cass. takes *mezzo* to mean the middle of the sky, and *primo giro* the horizon; the annotator of Gg. (in which *mezzo* has been substituted in the original hand, for another word), quoting Benv. as usual, says 'i.e. ab illo hemisperio inferiore, dicitur enim hemisperium quasi dimidia spera'; which seems to point to a reading *dal mezzo spero infino* or *oscuo* (following the gender of '*hemisperium*'). *Primo giro* he explains, 'usque ad circulum lunae, vel melius usque ad circulum ignis.'

circle, renewed delight to my eyes, soon as I issued forth from the dead air, which had saddened me both eyes and heart. The fair planet which encourages to love was making all the east to smile, veiling the Fishes that were in her escort. I turned me toward the right hand, and gave heed to the other pole, and beheld four stars, never yet seen, save by the folk of old time. The heaven

Agli occhi miei ricominciò diletto,
Tosto ch' io uscì fuor dell' aura morta,
Che m' avea contristato gli occhi e 'l petto.
Lo bel pianeta ch' ad amar conforta,
Faceva tutto rider l' oriente,
Velando i Pesci ch' erano in sua scorta.
Io mi volsi a man destra, e posi mente
All' altro polo, e vidi quattro stelle
Non viste mai fuor ch' alla prima gente.

20

On the whole, though I have followed the moderns in reading *aer*, I do not see why it should in the first instance have been changed to *mezzo*, while the contrary is likely enough to have happened. If we read *aer*, we must, I think, understand *primo giro* as = *primo mobile*, the highest sphere, as would appear from Par. xxiii. 112 sqq., to which the eye can reach.

Another possible interpretation would be (putting a comma after *sereno*) 'in the clear sky, seen from the dark' (i.e. western) 'half of the heaven, even to the horizon.'

¹⁹ Cf. xxvii. 95.

²¹ When Venus is a morning star at this time of year, she is in or near Pisces, the Sun being in Aries. As a matter of fact, at Easter 1300 she was rising some forty minutes *after* the Sun. Probably Dante took the phenomena as they were when he was writing.

²² Observe that in order to see these four stars, which denote the active or cardinal virtues, he turns to the *right hand*; in xxxii. 8 he turns to the left to look at the nymphs who represent the theological or contemplative virtues.

²³ *altro polo*, the south pole. (That of line 29 is, of course, the north.) There is much discussion in regard to these stars, which are almost certainly intended for the Southern Cross. (See Humboldt,

appeared to rejoice in their flames. O widowed region of the Northern Star, since thou hast been bereaved of gazing upon those! When I had withdrawn from regarding them, turning myself a little towards the other pole, to that quarter whence the Wain had by this time disappeared, I saw hard by me a solitary old man, in aspect worthy of so much reverence that no son owes more to father. He wore his beard long and mingled with white hair, like to

Goder pareva il Ciel di lor fiammelle.
 O settentrional vedovo sito,
 Poi che privato sei di mirar quelle!^a
 Com' io dal loro sguardo fui partito,
 Un poco me volgendo all' altro polo,
 Là onde il Carro già era sparito,^b
 Vidi presso di me un veglio solo,
 Degno di tanta reverenza in vista,
 Che più non dee a padre alcun figliuolo.
 Lunga la barba e di pel bianco mista
 Portava, ai suoi capegli simigliante,

30

^a *di veder q. Gg. Cass.*^b *Là ove . . . spartito Gg.*

'Cosmos,' Sabine's Transl. vol. ii. p. 291 and note 449; vol. iii. note 401.) Not only may Dante have heard of it from travellers, but his own astronomical knowledge was probably sufficient to tell him that the '*Settentrional sito*' had once enjoyed the sight of the four stars, which have been visible as far north as the shores of the Baltic. There is, of course, also an allusion in lines 26 and 27 to the commonplace of poets, that men have declined in the practice of virtue. It should be observed that while in the morning, the time for action, the four stars are conspicuous, the evening is adorned by the three which denote the theological virtues (viii. 89).

³⁰ Or 'where the Wain was no longer to be seen.'³¹ This is the younger Cato. Virgil's line, '*Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem*,' Aeneid viii. 670, probably suggested his employment as warder of Purgatory.

his locks, of which a twofold list fell to his breast. The rays of the four holy lights so decked his face with lustre, that I saw it as the sun were before me. 'Who are ye that against the blind stream have fled the eternal prison?' said he, moving those honourable plumes. 'Who has guided you? or who was your lantern, as you issued forth from the profound night which ever makes black the infernal valley? Are the laws of the pit thus broken, or has a new counsel come about in Heaven, that being damned, ye come to my rocks?' My Leader then took

Dei quai cadeva al petto doppia lista.
 Li raggi delle quattro luci sante
 Fregiavan sì la sua faccia di lume,
 Ch' io il vedea come il Sol fosse davante.
 Chi siete voi, che contro il cieco fiume 40
 Fuggito avete la prigione eterna?
 Diss' ei, movendo quell' oneste piume.
 Chi vi ha guidati? o chi vi fu lucerna,
 Uscendo fuor della profonda notte;
 Che sempre nera fa la valle inferna?
 Son le leggi d' abisso così rotte?
 O è mutato in Ciel nuovo consiglio,^c
 Che dannati venite alle mie grotte?
 Lo Duca mio allor mi diè di piglio,

. ^c *ha mut. il Ciel Gg.*

³⁹ **come** for *come se*; see Diez iii. 337.

⁴⁰ **il cieco fiume**, see Inf. xxxiv. 130.

⁴² **piume**, cf. Hor. Od. iv. 10, 2.

⁴³ Psalm cxix. 105.

⁴⁶ Notice the omission of the article before **abisso**, the word being used here in a special signification. So Petr. Son. cxiii. 'Ponmi in Cielo, od in terra, od in abisso.' Cf. *meridian*, iv. 138.

⁴⁹ **diè di piglio**. Cf. *dar di morso*, xviii. 132, *di becco*, xxiii. 30. This use, which appears to be a form of the 'partitive genitive,' seems to have escaped the notice of Diez.

hold of me, and with words and with hands and with signs made me reverent, both in knees and eyelid. Then he answered him: 'I came not of myself; a lady descended from Heaven, through whose prayers I helped this man with my company. But since it is thy will that more be unfolded as to our condition, how in truth it is, it cannot be mine that it be denied thee. This man has not yet seen his last evening, but by his folly he was so near to it, that very little time was yet to pass. In such wise as I have said, was I sent to him for his salvation, and there was no other road than this

E con parole e con mani e con cenni 50
 Reverenti mi fe' le gambe e il ciglio :
 Poscia rispose lui : Da me non venni :
 Donna scese dal Ciel, per li cui preghi
 Della mia compagnia costui sovvenni.
 Ma da ch' è tuo voler, che più si spieghi
 Di nostra condizion, com' ella è vera,
 Esser non puote il mio ch' a te si nieghi.
 Questi non vide mai l' ultima sera,
 Ma per la sua follia le fu sì presso,
 Che molto poco tempo a volger era. 60
 Sì come io dissi, fui mandato ad esso
 Per lui campare, e non v' era altra via

⁵³ See Inf. ii. 52 sqq.

⁵⁶ **com' ella è vera.** I have followed Bianchi; but the words may also mean, 'how true it is,' i.e. 'how we are not deceiving you about it.'

⁵⁷ **il mio** : sc. *voler*.

⁵⁸ Cf. Inf. xv. 47.

⁶¹ Would it not be better to read **adesso**, 'I was sent straightway'? Cf. xxiv. 113.

⁶² **per lui campare.** *Lo* would have been more usual; but *lui* is not uncommon in Dante in this position. See Diez iii. 48. Perhaps the preceding *per* has caused its use here, by a kind of attraction.

by which I have set out. I have shown him all the guilty folk, and now I purpose to show him those spirits who are being cleansed under thy stewardship. How I have brought him it were long to tell thee: from on high virtue descends, which is aiding me to lead him to see thee and to hear thee. Now may it please thee to accept his coming graciously; he goes seeking freedom, which is so dear, as he knows who for it renounces life. Thou knowest it, seeing that for its sake death was not bitter to thee in Utica, where thou didst leave the garment that at the great day shall be so bright. The eternal edicts are not broken

Che questa per la quale io mi son messo.
 Mostrata ho lui tutta la gente ria,
 Ed ora intendo mostrar queglii spirti,
 Che purgan sè sotto la tua balia.
 Com' io l' ho tratto, saria lungo a dirti.
 Dell' alto scende virtù che m' aiuta
 Conducerlo a vederti ed ad udirti.
 Or ti piaccia gradir la sua venuta : 70
 Libertà va cercando, ch' è sì cara, ,
 Come sa chi per lei vita rifiuta.
 Tu il sai : chè non ti fu per lei amara
 In Utica la morte, ove lasciasti
 La veste, ch' al gran dì sarà sì chiara.
 Non son gli editti eterni per noi guasti :

⁷³ Cf. De Mon. ii. 5: 'Ut mundo libertatis amorem accenderet quanti libertas esset ostendit, dum e vita liber decedere maluit, quam sine libertate remanere in illa.'

⁷⁵ *veste*. Cf. Par. xxv. 92. If any one wishes to know how Cato, an unbaptised heathen, and moreover a suicide, can expect a destiny so different from that of all other heathens and suicides, he will find the wisdom of the old commentators reduced within moderate compass in Bianchi's note.

for us, for this man lives, and Minos binds me not ; but I am of the circle where are the chaste eyes of thy Marcia, who in her visage [seems] still to pray thee, O holy breast, to hold her for thine. For her love's sake, then, bend thyself to us. Let us go through thy seven realms ; thanks will I bear back to her on thy behalf, if thou deignest to be mentioned there below.' ' Marcia pleased my eyes so much while I was yonder,' said he then, ' that all the favours she would of me I did. Now that she dwells beyond the evil stream, she can move me no more, by that law which was made when I issued forth from thence. But if a dame of heaven moves and guides thee, as thou sayest, there is

Chè questi vive, e Minos me non lega :
 Ma son del cerchio, ove son gli occhi casti
 Di Marzia tua, che in vista ancor ti prega,
 O santo petto, che per tua la tegni : 80
 Per lo suo amore adunque a noi ti piega.
 Lasciane andar per li tuoi sette regni :
 Grazie riporterò di te a lei,
 Se d' esser mentovato laggiù degni.
 Marzia piacque tanto agli occhi miei,
 Mentre ch' io fui di là, diss' egli allora,
 Che quante grazie volle da me fei.
 Or, che di là dal mal fiume dimora,
 Più muover non mi può per quella legge,
 Che fatta fu quand' io me n' uscì' fuora. 90
 Ma se Donna del Ciel ti muove e regge,

⁷⁹ For an explanation of the symbolism of Cato and Marcia, see Conv. iv. 28.

⁸⁰ **santo petto.** Cf. *sacratissimo petto*, Conv. iv. 5.

⁸⁶ **di là** = 'in the world of living men,' as always in Purgatory. In Hell it is *lassù*, in Heaven *laggiù*.

no need of fair words. Suffice it thee fully that thou askest me in her name. Go then, and see that thou gird this man with a smooth rush, and that thou wash his face, so that thence thou mayest put away all grime; for it would not be meet to go with eye overtaken by any cloud before the first minister who is of them of Paradise. This little isle around its lowest base, down yonder where the water beats on it, bears rushes above the soft mud. No plant of other kind, such as should put forth leaves or grow hard, can there have life; seeing that it yields not to blows. Afterwards let not your returning be hitherward.

Come tu di', non c'è mestier lusinga :
 Bastiti ben che per lei mi richegge.^d
 Va dunque, e fa che tu costui ricinga
 D' un giunco schietto, e che gli lavi 'l viso,
 Sì ch' ogni sucidume quindi stinga :
 Chè non si converria l' occhio sorpreso
 D' alcuna nebbia andar davanti al primo
 Ministro, ch' è di quei di Paradiso.
 Questa isoletta intorno ad imo ad imo^e 100
 Laggiù colà dove la batte l' onda,
 Porta dei giunchi sovra il molle limo.
 Null' altra pianta che facesse fronda,
 O che indurasse, vi puote aver vita ;
 Però ch' alle percosse non seconda.
 Poscia non sia di quà vostra reddita :

^d *Bastiti sol 4; Bastiti ben 135.*

^e *Quest' isola dint. Gg.*

⁹⁶ **stinga**, literally, 'extinguish'; in which sense *spegner* has taken its place.

¹⁰² The rush typifies 'the broken and contrite heart.'

¹⁰³ **altra** is in fact pleonastic. Cf. Gr. *ἄλλος*, and see Diez iii.

The Sun, which is even now rising, will show you where to take the mountain at an easier ascent.'

Therewith' he disappeared; and I raised myself up without speaking, and drew myself wholly back to my Leader, and on him bent my eyes. He began: 'Son, follow my steps; let us turn back, for on this side this plain slopes to its low-lying bounds.' The dawn was conquering the shade of early morn, which fled before, so that I discerned afar the quivering of the sea. We began going through the lonely plain like a man who is returning to the

Lo Sol vi mostrerà, che surge omai,
 Prender il monte a più lieve salita.^f
 Così spari: ed io su mi levai,
 Senza parlare, e tutto mi ritrassi 110
 Al Duca mio, e gli occhi a lui drizzai.
 Ei cominciò: Figliuol, segui i miei passi:^g
 Volgiamci indietro, chè di qua dichina
 Questa pianura a' suoi termini bassi.
 L' alba vinceva l' ora mattutina,
 Che fuggia innanzi, sì che di lontano
 Conobbi il tremolar della marina.
 Noi andavam per lo solingo piano,

^f *Prendete Cass. Gg.; pigliate Ald.*

^g *Ei com. seguisci li m.p. Gg. Cass. 1234 W.*

107, 108 I.e. the easiest ascent is on the east side.

115 Lombardi takes *ora mattutina* = the hour of matins, which seems frigid. Another explanation is *ora = aura*, 'the breeze of morning'; but this can hardly be said to fly before the dawn, nor would its departure enable Dante to see the sea any better. On the other hand, *ora = ombra*, seems doubtful; but cf. *adrezza* in line 123. See Glossary, s.v. *aura*.

¹¹⁷ Bianchi compares Virgil's 'Splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus,' Aeneid vii. 9.

road which he has lost, in that until he reaches it he seems to himself to be going in vain. When we were where the dew strives with the Sun, and from being in a part where it is shady, diminishes little, my Master sweetly placed both hands spread abroad on the short grass ; wherefore I, who was ware of his purpose, reached towards him my tearful cheeks ; then made he in me all discovered that hue which Hell had concealed in me.

We came next upon the desert shore, which never yet saw man sail upon its waters, that should thereafter

Com' uom che torna alla smarrita strada,
 Che infino ad essa li par ire invano. 120
 Quando noi fummo dove la rugiada
 Pugna col Sole, e per essere in parte
 Ove adorezza, poco si dirada :
 Ambo le mani in su l' erbetta sparte
 Soavemente il mio Maestro pose :
 Ond' io che fui accorto di su' arte,
 Porsi ver lui le guance lagrimose :
 Quivi mi fece tutto discoperto
 Quel color che l' Inferno mi nascose.
 Venimmo poi in sul lito diserto, 130
 Che mai non vide navicar sue acque
 Uomo, che di tornar sia poscia esperto.

^{119, 120} These lines are rather obscure. The comparison seems to be between their position and that of a man who is trying to hit off a path which he has missed, and, till he strikes it, feels as if his labour was wasted.

¹²³ **adorezza.** They are still on the south, therefore the shady side of the mountain, where the Sun has least power and the dew can resist its influence. It is clear that *pugna* does not refer to the state of things at the moment, because the Sun is not yet up.

know aught of return. There he so girt me as Another willed. O marvel! that such as was the lowly plant he culled, just such an one there straightway grew again in that place whence he plucked it.

Quivi mi cinse, sì come altrui piacque :

O maraviglia ! che qual egli scelse

L' umile pianta, cotal sì rinacque

Subitamente là onde la svelse.

¹³³ **altrui**, not, I think, as most commentators hold, Cato, but God. Cf. *Inf.* xxvi. 141. The rush thus takes the place of the cord which he had cast away. *Inf.* xvi. 106 sqq.

¹³⁵ Cf. *Aeneid* vi. 143. Symbolically, God's grace diminishes not by being given.

CANTO II

ARGUMENT

First sunrise. As the poets are standing on the shore, a boat arrives, steered by an Angel, bearing souls to Purgatory. Dante recognises Casella, who begins to sing to them, but Cato hurries them on to the mountain.

ALREADY was the Sun come to that horizon whose meridian circle covers Jerusalem with its highest point ; and the night which circles opposite to him was issuing forth from the Ganges with the Balances which fall from her hand when she gets the mastery : so that the white and ruddy cheeks

GIÀ era il Sole all' orizzonte giunto,
Lo cui meridian cerchio coverchia
Gerusalem col suo più alto punto :
E la Notte, che opposita a lui cerchia,
Uscia di Gange fuor colle balance,
Che le caggion di man quando soverchia ;
Sì che le bianche e le vermiglie guance,

¹ sqq. Jerusalem and Purgatory are antipodes ; therefore they have a common horizon (iv. 70), on which in one direction is India. The 'night' means here, as elsewhere in Dante, the point of the heavens opposite to the Sun. Cf. Inf. xxiv. 3. At this time the Sun was in Aries, and therefore the 'night' in Libra. When the 'night' is getting the mastery, i.e. at the autumnal equinox, the Sun is entering Libra, which thus may be said to fall from the hands of the night.

of fair Aurora, there where I was, through too much age were becoming orange.

We still were alongside the sea, like folk who ponder on their road, who go in heart, but in body loiter; and lo! as on the point of morn Mars glows ruddy through the thick vapours low in the west above the ocean-floor, just such a light (so may I again behold it!) appeared to me

Là dov' io era, della bella Aurora
 Per troppa etate divenivan rance.
 Noi eravam lunghesso il mare ancora, 10
 Come gente che pensa suo cammino,
 Che va col core, e col corpo dimora:
 Ed ecco qual, sul presso del mattino,
 Per li grossi vapor Marte rosseggia
 Giù nel ponente sovra il suol marino;
 Cotal m' apparve, s' io ancor lo veggia,
 Un lume per lo mar venir sì ratto,

⁹ Imitated by Boccaccio at the beginning of Day iii.; and later by various poets.

¹³ Witte reads *sorpreso dal*, to which it is reasonably objected that to speak of a setting planet as surprised by the rising Sun is not a very good image. Scartazzini prefers *suol presso del*, which will not construe, for his theory that *rosseggia* is the infinitive is untenable. Dante did not write in Piedmontese. Unless we are to read *sol* (as an adjective 'Mars glows solitary'), *sul presso del* is the only reading which gives a good sense; and to Fanfani's objection that this substantival use of *presso* is not old, it may be replied that Bembo (to whom the Aldine text is due) and Landino presumably knew their own language. Bianchi compares such phrases as *all' incirca, nel mentre*. For the phenomenon, cf. Ar. Meteor. i. 5 (342 b), ἀνίσχοντα τὰ ἀστρα καὶ δυνόμενα . . . διὰ καπνοῦ φοινικᾶ φάλνεται.

¹⁴ Cf. Conv. ii. 14.

¹⁶ Cf. Lat. 'Sic te diva regat'; so v. 85, xxvi. 61. See Diez iii. 328, 329. It is pretty clear that *sì* (*sic*) must have got confused with *sí* (*sí*), and thus have passed into *se*.

to come over the sea so swift that no flight might match its motion. From the which when I had a short while withdrawn my eye to make inquiry of my Leader, I saw it again grown more shining and greater. Then on each side straightway appeared to me a something white, and on the lower side by small degrees came forth another. My Master as yet spake no word until the first white objects appeared as wings; then when he well recognised the helmsman, he cried: 'See, see that thou bend thy knees; behold the Angel of God; fold thy hands; henceforth thou wilt see

Che il muover suo nessun volar pareggia ;
 Dal qual com' io un poco ebbi ritratto
 L' occhio per dimandar lo Duca mio, 20
 Rividil più lucente e maggior fatto.
 Poi d' ogni parte adesso m' apparìo
 Un non sapea che bianco, ed al di sotto^a
 A poco a poco un altro a lui n' uscìo.
 Lo mio Maestro ancor non fece motto,
 Mentre che i primi bianchi apparser ali :^b
 Allor che ben conobbe il galeotto,
 Gridò : Fa, fa, che le ginochia cali :
 Ecco l' Angel di Dio : piega le mani :

^a che bianche a dis. Gg.; bianche dis. 15; bianco d.s. Cass. 24; biancheggiar 3 Land.

^b che p.b., aparser ali Gg.; aparser lali 12345; che i p.b. aparser Ald.; aparsi Cass.; apparver Land.

²³ Bianchi reads *un non sapea che bianco, e di*, which leaves the line a syllable short; a difficulty which Witte avoids by reading *sapeva*, and Scart. *sapèa*. The former has no authority, the latter no precedent. *Non sapea che* = Lat. 'nescio quid.' See Diez iii. 50.

²⁶ *aparser*, the old reading, is clearly wrong; for it makes nonsense of *i primi*; *apparser* is the reading of the codex of Filippo Villani; also of Benvenuto.

thus-fashioned officers. See how he disdains human implements, so that he seeks not oar, nor other sail than his own wings between shores so distant. See how he has them pointed towards the heaven, drawing the air with his eternal feathers, that are not moulted like mortal hair.' Then as more and more towards us came the bird of God, more bright he appeared, by reason whereof the eye endured him not near, but I bent it downward, and he came his way to shore, with a little vessel, swift and so light that the

Omai vedrai di sì fatti uficiali. 30
 Vedi che sdegna gli argomenti umani ;
 Sì che remo non vuol, nè altro velo
 Che l' ali sue tra liti sì lontani.
 Vedi come l' ha dritte verso il cielo,
 Trattando l' aere con l' eterne penne,^c
 Che non si mutan come mortal pelo.
 Poi come più e più verso noi venne
 L' uccel divino, più chiaro appariva :
 Perchè l' occhio da presso nol sostenne,
 Ma chinai 'l giuso : e quei sen venne a riva^d 40
 Con un vasello snelletto e leggiero,

^c *lale* Gg. 5 ; *lali* 1234.

^d *chinail viso* Gg.

³⁰ **di**, partitive, as in French. Diez iii. 149.

³¹ *Argumentum* in Low Lat. has the meaning of 'machine' or 'instrument.' Thus Liutprand v. 6, 'Argumentum non solum in prora quo ignis projicitur, verum etiam in puppi . . . ponite.' Littré quotes Rom. de la R. line 6994, 'Qui sont piliers et argumens à soutenir nature humaine,' of the bodily organs. In Decam. viii. 6, *prender argom.* = to take measures.

³² **velo** = *vela*, for the sake of rhyme ; though, possibly, at this time the distinction, a purely arbitrary one, did not exist.

³⁵ **trattando** is generally taken as = *agitando* ; but it may here have its primary idea of *drawing* the air, as the swimmer does the water. The readings *lale* and *lali*, though not uncommon, are clearly wrong.

³⁸ **pelo**, for 'feathers' ; just as *piume*, i. 42, for 'hair.'

water sucked not aught of it in. On the poop stood the heavenly helmsman, such that he appeared blessed by a sure title; and more than a hundred spirits sat within it. *In exitu Israel de Egypto*, were they all together singing in one voice, with so much of that psalm as is after written. Then made he them the sign of holy Cross; whereat they threw themselves all upon the beach, and he went his way swift as he had come.

Tanto che l' acqua nulla ne inghiottiva.
 Da poppa stava il celestial nocchiero,
 Tal che pareva beato per iscripto;^e
 E più di cento spirti entro sediero:
In exitu Israel de Egypto
 Cantavan tutti insieme ad una voce,
 Con quanto di quel salmo è poscia scripto.
 Poi fece il segno lor di santa Croce;
 Ond' ei si gittar tutti in su la spiaggia, 50
 Ed ei sen gî, come venne, veloce.

^e *faria . . . per iscr. Gg.; faria . . . pur 2 W.*

⁴⁴ Witte prefers *faria beato pur descritto*, which, as being more easily intelligible, is less probably, according to a well-known rule of criticism, the true reading. It is also found in a small minority of MSS. The usual interpretation of **parea beato per iscripto** is that taken by Lombardi, Bianchi, Blanc, Philalethes, 'as though it were written on him.' But Landino says: 'cioe, confermato beato'; and Ducange says *inscriptum = instrumentum donationis*. So Bocc. Dec. viii. 10, of a merchant putting goods in a 'bonded warehouse'—'dando per iscritto la mercatantia.' But see Moore, 'Textual Criticism.'

⁴⁵ **sediero**, formed directly from *sederunt*.

⁴⁶ Cf. Conv. iii. 1, and the letter to Can Grande, § 7. It may be noted that Psalm cxiii. (Vulgate), which includes the cxiv. and cxv. of our Prayer Book, has always been held appropriate to Easter.

The crowd which remained there seemed wild to the place, gazing around, like one who is essaying new things. On all sides the Sun was darting the day, who had with his gentle shafts chased Capricorn from the midst of heaven; when the new folk raised their faces toward us, saying to us: 'If you know, show us the way to go toward the mount.' And Virgil answered: 'You deem perhaps

La turba che rimase lì, selvaggia
 Pareo del loco, rimirando intorno;
 Come colui che nuove cose assaggia.
 Da tutte parti saettava il giorno
 Lo Sol, ch' avea con le saette conte
 Di mezzo il ciel cacciato il Capricorno:
 Quando la nuova gente alzò la fronte
 Ver noi, dicendo a noi: Se voi sapete,
 Mostrate la via di gire al monte.
 E Virgilio rispose: Voi credete

60

⁵⁶ **conte**: Benv. says 'manifestis'; Land. 'vere e certe'; Vell. 'manifesti e noti'; Bianchi explains, 'chiare, o forse pratiche, esperte nel cogliere il segno'; Blanc, 'luminosi'; Philal. 'leuchtend'; Witte, 'licht.' The word is the Italian form of 'cognitus,' which, according to a glossary of the twelfth century, quoted by Diez, seems to have been used as equivalent to 'benignus,' 'humanus' (cf. the meanings of English 'kin,' 'kind'). May it not have been used in some early translation of Homer to represent *ἀγανός*, the regular epithet of Apollo's arrows? No complete translation is known to have existed at this time, and Dante himself says, Conv. i. 7, that 'Omero non si mutò di greco in latino.' But he quotes Homer, as in V.N. § 2, and in De Mon., and, as he knew less Greek than Shakespeare, this can only be from a Latin version. Moreover Burckhardt, 'History of the Renaissance,' chap. iii., mentions the existence of a fragment of a translation earlier than that made by Boccaccio and Leontius Pilatus; so that the theory which I have ventured to adopt at least involves no anachronism.

⁵⁷ When Aries, in which the Sun is at this time, is on the horizon, Capricorn is on the meridian. The meaning, therefore, is that the Sun was half a sign, or 15 degrees high.

that we are experienced of this place ; but we are strangers, as ye are. We came erewhile, a little before you, by another way that was so rough and hard that the climbing henceforth will seem sport to us.' The spirits, who had observed in me by my breathing that I was still alive, marvelling, grew pale with wonder ; and as to a messenger who bears olive the folk draw to hear news, and none shows himself shy of trampling, so on my aspect fixed themselves all those fortunate souls, as though forgetful of going to make themselves fair. I saw one of them draw

Forse che siamo sperti d' esto loco :
 Ma noi sem peregrin, come voi siete :
 Dianzi venimmo, innanzi a voi un poco,
 Per altra via che fu sì aspra e forte,
 Che lo salire omai ne parrà gioco.
 L' anime che si fur di me accorte
 Per lo spirar, ch' io era ancora vivo,
 Maravigliando diventaro smorte :
 E come a messaggier, che porta olivo, 70
 Tragge la gente per udir novelle,^f
 E di calcar nessun si mostra schivo :
 Così al viso mio s' affissar quelle
 Anime fortunate tutte quante,
 Quasi obbliando d' ire a farsi belle.
 Io vidi una di loro trarsi avante

^f *per saper Gg.*

⁶⁵ **aspra e forte**, cf. *Inf.* i. 5.

⁶⁹ **smorte**, cf. the Shakespearian 'all amort.' The spirits of course resemble their living selves in complexion as in feature.

⁷⁰ Readers of 'Romola' will remember an illustration, bk. iii. ch. 2.

⁷⁵ 'Forgetting that they had to go on to the Mountain of Purification.'

⁷⁶ **una**. This, as will appear, is Casella, a famous musician of the

forward to embrace me with so great affection that it moved me to do the like. O shadows, unreal, save in the appearance! Thrice behind him I clasped my hands, and as often I returned with them to my own breast. Of wonder, I suppose, I took the hue; because the shade smiled, and drew back, and I following it pressed further. Gently he bade me pause; then I knew who he was, and prayed that to speak with me he would stay a little. He answered me: 'As I loved thee in the mortal body so love I thee being a spirit unbound; therefore I stay; but wherefore goest thou?' 'My Casella,

Per abbracciarmi con sì grande affetto,
 Che mosse me a far il simigliante.
 O ombre vane, fuor che nell' aspetto!
 Tre volte dietro a lei le mani avvinsi, 80
 E tante mi tornai con esse al petto.
 Di maraviglia, credo, mi dipinsi:
 Perchè l' ombra sorrise e si ritrasse,
 Ed io, seguendo lei, oltre mi pinsi.
 Soavemente disse ch' io posasse:
 Allor conobbi chi era, e pregai^g
 Che per parlarmi un poco s' arrestasse.
 Risposemi: Così com' io t' amai
 Nel mortal corpo, così t' amo sciolta:
 Però m' arresto: ma tu perchè vai? 90

^g *Conobbi allora Ald.; allor W.* [which leaves the line at least a syllable short]; ? *all. con. c. era ed il pr.*

time. Milton's allusion, Sonnet xiii., to this incident is well known. A ballad set to music by Casella is said to be extant in the Vatican Library.

⁸⁹ *sciolta: sc. anima.*

that I may return a second time to that place where I am, I make this journey,' said I; 'but from thee how has so much time been taken?' And he to me: 'No outrage has been done me, if he who takes up both when and whom he pleases has many times denied me that passage; for of a just will is his will framed. Nevertheless for three months past he has taken whoso would enter, with all peace. Wherefore I, who had now turned towards the sea, where Tiber's water enters the salt, was in his goodness gathered in by him. To that mouth has he now his wing directed, since always there

Casella mio, per tornare altra volta
 Là dove io son, fo io questo viaggio:
 Diss' io, ma a te com' è tanta ora tolta? ^h
 Ed egli a me: Nessun m' è fatto oltraggio,
 Se quei, che leva e quando e cui gli piace,
 Più volte m' ha negato esto passaggio;
 Chè di giusto voler lo suo si face.
 Veramente da tre mesi egli ha tolto,
 Chi ha voluto entrar con tutta pace.
 Ond' io che era ora alla marina volto, 100
 Dove l' acqua di Tevere s' insala,
 Benignamente fui da lui ricolto.
 A quelle foce ha egli or dritta l' ala:
 Perocchè sempre quivi si raccoglie,

^h *Ma a te com' era tanta terra tolta Gg. Ald. 12345; Ma a te com' è diss' io t. o. t. Land.*

⁹¹ Cf. xxx. 136 sqq.

⁹³ 'How is it that you have been kept waiting so long before coming here?'

⁹⁵ I.e. the angel who bears the souls.

⁹⁸ Since the beginning of the jubilee, i.e. since Christmas 1299.

is assembled whosoever falls not towards Acheron.' And I :
 'If a new law takes not away from thee memory or use in
 the amorous chant which was wont to quiet for me all my
 wishes, let it please thee therewith to comfort somewhat
 my soul, which coming here with its body is so wearied.'
Love, that discourses in my mind to me, then began he so
 sweetly, that the sweetness yet sounds within me. My
 Master, and I, and that folk who were with him appeared
 so content, as though naught else touched the minds of any.
 We were all fixed and intent on his notes ; and lo ! the
 honourable ancient, crying : 'What is this, lazy spirits ?

Qual verso d' Acheronte non si cala.
 Ed io : Se nuova legge non ti toglie
 Memoria o uso all' amoroso canto,
 Che mi solea quetar tutte mie voglie,
 Di ciò ti piaccia consolare alquanto
 L' anima mia, che con la sua persona,
 Venendo quì, è affannata tanto. 110
Amor che nella mente mi ragiona,
 Cominciò egli allor sì dolcemente,
 Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.
 Lo mio Maestro, ed io, e quella gente
 Ch' eran con lui, parevan sì contenti,
 Com' a nessun toccasse altro la mente.
 Noi eravam tutti fissi ed attentiⁱ
 Alle sue note : ed ecco il veglio onesto,
 Gridando : Che è ciò, spiriti lenti ? 120

ⁱ *Noi andavam W.*

¹¹² The first line of the Canzone of Conv. iii.

¹¹⁴ **dentro mi** ; so *innanzi mi*, iv. 136. See Diez iii. 288. He regards it as an instance of the adverb being used as a preposition ; but is not *mi* a dative here ?

What negligence, what halt is this? Haste to the mount to strip you of the slough, which allows not God to be manifest to you.'

As when, plucking wheat or tare, the pigeons assembled at their feeding, quiet, without showing their accustomed pride, if anything appears whereof they have fear, suddenly let their food stay, because they are assailed by a greater care, so saw I this fresh-come troop leave the song, and go toward the hillside, as one who goes, nor knows where he is coming forth. Nor less hasty was our own departure.

Qual negligenza, quale stare è questo ?

Correte al monte a spogliarvi lo scoglio,

Ch' esser non lascia a voi Dio manifesto.

Come quando, cogliendo biada o loglio,^k

Gli colombi adunati alla pastura,

Queti senza mostrar l' usato orgoglio,

Se cosa appare, ond' elli abbian paura,

Subitamente lasciano star l' esca,

Perchè assaliti son da maggior cura :

Così vid' io quella masnada fresca 130

Lasciar lo canto, e gire inver la costa,^l

Com' uom che va, nè sa dove riesca :^m

Nè la nostra partita fu men tosta.

^k *E come raccogli. Gg.*

^l *e fuggir ver Bi.*

^m *s'arresta Gg. Land. Ald.; saresca Cass.; sarresca 145; sireasca 23.*

¹²² **scoglio** for *scoglià*, as *velo* for *vela* in i. 32. Crusc. recognises this form, but does not quote this passage. In Vanzon's Dict. is quoted 'Lo serpe getta ogni anno lo scoglio vecchio.'

¹²³ Cf. V. N. § xiii.: come colui che non sa per qual via pigli il suo cammino, e che vuole andare e non sa ove vada.

CANTO III

ARGUMENT

Dante perceives that he casts a shadow, Virgil none. Virgil explains the reason, and so they reach the foot of the mountain. A troop of souls overtake them, who show them the right point to begin the ascent. Manfred talks with Dante, who learns that these are the souls of men who had died excommunicate, but had repented before death.

ALBEIT their sudden flight had scattered those over the plain, turned towards the mountain, whither reason goads us, I drew close to my faithful escort; and how should I have sped without him? Who would have drawn me up over the mountain? He seemed to me for his own self

AVVEGNACHÈ la subitana fuga
Dispergesse color per la campagna,
Rivolti al monte ove ragion ne fruga;
Io mi ristrinsi alla fida compagna:
E come sare' io senza lui coïso?
Chi m' avria tratto su per la montagna?
Ei mi pareva da sè stesso rimorso:

³ **ove ragion ne fruga.** Bianchi compares xxi. 64.

⁴ **compagna:** perhaps for *compagnia* (taken as in Inf. xxviii. 116); but more probably a formation like *scorta*, *guardia*. See Diez ii. 14.

remorseful. O conscience, dignified and pure, how bitter a sting is a small fault to thee !

When his feet had left the haste which undoes the comeliness in every action, my mind, which before was restrained, rewidened its attention as though eager, and I set my face toward the steep, which from the water rises loftiest towards the heaven. The Sun, which behind was blazing ruddy, was broken in front of me, according to the figure which the check to his rays received in me. I turned me aside with fear of having been abandoned, when I saw only in front of myself the earth darkened ; and my comfort, turning wholly

O dignitosa coscienza e netta,
 Come t' è picciol fallo amaro morso !
 Quando li piedi suoi lasciar la fretta, 10
 Che l' onestade ad ogni atto dismaga,
 La mente mia, che prima era ristretta,
 Lo intento rallargò, sì come vaga ;
 E diedi il viso mio incontro al poggio,
 Che inverso il ciel più alto si dislaga.
 Lo Sol, che dietro fiammeggiava roggio,
 Rotto m' era dinanzi, alla figura
 Ch' aveva in me dei suoi raggi l' appoggio.
 Io mi volsi dallato con paura
 D' esser abbandonato, quand' io vidi 20
 Solo dinanzi a me la terra oscura :
 E il mio conforto : Perchè pur diffidi,

¹³ *vaga*. 'Desiderosa di conoscere quei nuovi oggetti.'—Lomb.

¹⁷ Land. and Lomb. read '*dinanzi alla figura*'; which also gives a good sense. *che* would of course be rendered 'for'; and *lo Sol* would be the subject of *aveva*.

²² The force of *pur* is a little doubtful. Lomb., whom Bianchi follows, says it = *ancora* with reference to l. 4. It seems better to join it with *diffidi* than with *perchè*, and to understand it as meaning rather 'constantly' than 'again.'

towards me, began to say: 'Why art thou still distrustful? Believest thou not that I am with thee, and that I guide thee? It is already evening there, where is buried the body within which I cast a shadow. Naples has it, and from Brundisium was it taken. Now if in front of me no shade falls, marvel thou no more than at the heavens, wherein the one impedes not the other's rays. To suffer torments both of heat and cold that Power ordains such bodies, which will not that the manner of its working be revealed to us. Mad is he who hopes that our reason can

A dir mi cominciò tutto rivolto ;
 Non credi tu me teco, e ch' io ti guidi ?
 Vespero è già colà, dov' è sepolto
 Lo corpo, dentro al quale io facea ombra :
 Napoli l' ha, e da Brandizio è tolto :
 Ora, se innanzi a me nulla s' adombra,
 Non ti maravigliar più che de' cieli,
 Che l' uno all' altro raggio non ingombra. 30
 A sofferrir tormenti e caldi e gieli
 Simili corpi la virtù dispone,
 Che come fa non vuol ch' a noi si sveli.
 Matto è chi spera, che nostra ragione
 Possa trascorrer la infinita via,

³⁰ My spiritual form no more hinders the passage of the Sun's rays than does one of the spheres which compose the universe those proceeding from another.

³¹⁻³³ Virgil meets Dante's doubt before he has expressed it. In xxv. 20 a similar difficulty is stated, and receives a fuller explanation. Cf. De An. ii. 2: οὐ τὸ σῶμά ἐστιν ἐντελέχεια ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ σώματός τινος· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οἷς δοκεῖ μήτ' ἀνεῖν σώματος εἶναι . . . ἡ ψυχὴ· σῶμα μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι, σώματος δέ τι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν σώματι ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἐν σώματι τοιούτῳ. *simili* in l. 32 seems meant to render τοιούτῳ.

travel over the boundless way, which one Substance in three Persons holds. Remain content, race of mankind, at the *quia*, for if you could have seen all no need was there that Mary should bring forth; and ye have seen desiring without fruition men such that their desire would have been set at rest, which is given them eternally for a grief. I speak of Aristotle and of Plato, and of many others.' And here he bowed his forehead, and said no more, and remained troubled.

We were come therewithal to the foot of the mount. There we found the rock so steep that in vain would the legs

Che tiene una Sustanzia in tre Persone.
 State contenti, umana gente, al *quia* :
 Chè se potuto aveste veder tutto,
 Mestier non era partorir Maria :
 E disiar vedeste senza frutto 40
 Tai, che sarebbe lor disio quietato,
 Ch' eternalmente è dato lor per lutto :
 I' dico d' Aristotile e di Plato,
 E di molti altri : e qui chinò la fronte ;
 E più non disse, e rimase turbato.
 Noi divenimmo in tanto appiè del monte :
 Quivi trovammo la roccia sì erta,
 Che indarno vi sarien le gambe pronte.

³⁷ *quia* in its later meaning of 'that,' *ὅτι*: 'Be content with the fact and do not search into the how or why.' For use of adverb as substantive, see Diez iii. 289.

^{38, 39} *se aveste . . . era*. So Villani: 'Se fossono giunti i loro pedoni, non ne campava niuno.' See Diez iii. 32; and cf. the Latin idiom.

⁴⁰ It is to be regretted that there appears to be no MS. authority which would encourage us to read *ne . . . vedreste*, and thereby avoid the awkwardness of the change in form of the sentence.

⁴¹ I.e. if they could have discovered causes as well as effects.

appeared to me a folk of souls who were moving their feet toward us, and yet seemed not, so slow they came. 'Raise,' said I to my Master, 'thy eyes. Lo, on this side is one who will give us counsel, if thou canst not have it of thyself.' He looked at them, and with frank mien answered: 'Let us go thitherward, for they come slowly; and thou confirm thy hope, sweet son.'

Still was that people so far off, I mean after a thousand of our paces, as a good thrower would hurl with his hand, when they all drew up to the hard masses of the lofty bank, and stood firm and close, as he who goes in doubt stands still to look. 'O ye who have made a good end, O spirits already elect,' Virgil began, 'by that peace which I think

D' anime, che movieno i piè ver noi,
 E non parevan, sì venivan lente. 60
 Leva, diss' io al Maestro, gli occhi tuoi:
 Ecco di quà chi ne darà consiglio,
 Se tu da te medesimo aver nol puoi.
 Guardò a loro, e con libero piglio^d
 Rispose: Andiamo in là, ch' ei vengon piano,
 E tu ferma la speme, dolce figlio.
 Ancora era quel popol di lontano,
 I' dico dopo i nostri mille passi,
 Quanto un buon gittator trarria con mano,
 Quando si strinser tutti ai duri massi 70
 Dell' alta ripa, e stetter fermi e stretti,
 Com' a guardar, chi va dubbiando, stassi.
 O ben finiti, o già spiriti eletti,
 Virgilio incominciò, per quella pace,

^d *Guardommi allora Ald. Land. Bi.*

⁵⁹ **movieno** for **moveano**. So *venieno*, l. 92. See Diez ii. 130.

is awaited by you all, tell us where the mountain falls, so that it is possible to go upward ; for loss of time displeases most who most knows.' As the sheep issue from the fold by one, by two, by three, and the others stand timid, holding eye and muzzle to earth, and that which the first does the rest do too, coming close behind her if she stops, simple and quiet, and know not the why or wherefore ; so saw I then move to come, the head of that fortunate flock, shamefast in face and in their gait dignified. When those in front saw the light on the ground broken to the right side

Ch' io credo che per voi tutti s' aspetti,
 Ditene dove la montagna giace,
 Sì che possibil sia l' andare in suso :
 Che il perder tempo a chi più sa, più spiace.
 Come le pecorelle escon del chiuso
 Ad una, a due, a tre, e l' altre stanno 80
 Timidette atterrando l' occhio e il muso,
 E ciò che fa la prima, e l' altre fanno,
 Addossandosi a lei s' ella s' arresta,
 Semplici e quete, e lo imperchè non sanno :
 Sì vid' io muovere, a venir, la testa
 Di quella mandria fortunata allotta,
 Pudica in faccia, e nell' andare onesta.
 Come color dinanzi vider rotta
 La luce in terra dal mio destro canto,

⁷⁹ He uses the same simile Conv. i. 11.

⁸⁰ It is still early morning, for but just now the Sun was shining red ; and it is not till after some time that he has gone through 50 degrees of arc. Dante has therefore his left side towards the east, and these folk are approaching from the south (see also l. 58). The general direction of the course through Purgatory is *with* the Sun, i.e. from E. to W. by the N. (see iv. 60). By the first evening they have got somewhat to the N., but not enough to see the setting Sun (vi. 57). On the

of me, so that the shadow was from me to the rock, they stayed and drew themselves a little back, and all the others that were coming after, not knowing wherefore, did as much. 'Without demand from you, I declare to you that this man whom you see is a human body, whereby the Sun's light is cloven on the earth. Marvel you not; but believe that not without power which comes from Heaven he seeks to surmount this wall.' Thus the Master. And that worshipful folk said: 'Turn, enter then before us,' making a sign with the backs of their hands. And one of them began: 'Whoever thou art, turn thy face as thou goest

Sì che l' ombra era da me alla grotta, 90
 Ristaro, e trasser sè indietro alquanto,
 E tutti gli altri che venieno appresso,
 Non sapendo il perchè, fero altrettanto.
 Senza vostra dimanda io vi confesso,
 Che questo è corpo uman che voi vedete,
 Perchè il lume del Sole in terra è fesso :
 Non vi maravigliate ; ma credete,
 Che non senza virtù che dal Ciel vegna,
 Cerca di soverchiar questa parete.
 Così il Maestro : e quella gente degna, 100
 Tornate, disse : intrate innanzi dunque,
 Coi dossi delle man facendo insegna.
 Ed un di loro incominciò : Chiunque
 Tu sei, così andando volgi il viso :

second evening they have the sunset full in face (xv. 9, 141), and the next morning they start with the Sun at their backs (xix. 39), i.e. they are on the north side of the mountain. On the last evening they sleep on the west side, as appears from the fact that when they reach the summit, Dante has the morning Sun full on his face (xxvii. 133). It must be remembered that the time is just after the equinox.

¹⁰³ This is Manfred, king of Sicily and Apulia, natural son of the

thus, give heed if on that side thou sawest me ever.' I turned me to him and looked fixedly on him; fair-haired he was, and beautiful and of noble countenance; but one of his eyelids a stroke had divided. When I had humbly disclaimed to have ever seen him, he said: 'Now look,' and showed me a wound high on his breast. Then he said smiling: 'I am Manfred, grandson of Constance the empress; wherefore I pray thee that when thou returnest thou go to my fair daughter, mother of the honour of Sicily

Pon mente, se di là mi vedesti unque.
 Io mi volsi ver lui, e guardail fiso :
 Biondo era e bello, e di gentile aspetto :
 Ma l' un dei cigli un colpo avea diviso.
 Quando mi fui umilmente disdetto
 D' averlo visto mai, ei disse : Or vedi ; 110
 E mostrommi una piaga a sommo il petto.
 Poi disse sorridendo : Io son Manfredi
 Nipote di Gostanza Imperadrice :
 Ond' io ti prego, che quando tu riedi,
 Vadi a mia bella figlia, genitrice

emperor Frederick II., killed at the battle of Grandella, near Benevento, Feb. 26, 1268. Giovanni Villani (book vi.) gives sufficient evidence to justify his confession: 'Orribil furon li peccati miei.' But he was a stanch opponent of the French intruders.

¹¹² *sorridendo*. Foscolo has called attention to the beauty of this touch. His death-wound and the rage of his enemies are now only subjects for a smile.

¹¹⁵ Constance, wife of Peter of Aragon (see vii. 112), and mother of Frederick king of Sicily and James king of Aragon. Looking to the character of these princes, and especially to Dante's own opinion of them as expressed in vii. 120 and elsewhere, there is a little difficulty about *onor*. But it should be remembered that it is their grandfather who is speaking, and that in his view some credit might be due to those who had to a certain extent avenged the house of Swabia on that of Anjou.

and Aragon, and say to her the truth, if else be said. After that I had my body torn with two deadly stabs, I betook myself weeping to Him who willingly pardons. Horrible were my sins ; but the infinite goodness has arms so wide that it receives that which turns back to it. If the pastor of Cosenza, who to the chase of me was sent by Clement, had then in God duly read this page, the bones of my body would still be at the bridge-head near Benevento, under the guard of the heavy stone-heap. Now the rain washes them, and the wind moves them forth from the

Dell' onor di Cicilia e d' Aragona,
E dichi a lei il ver, s' altro si dice.
Poscia ch' i' ebbi rotta la persona
Di due punte mortali io mi rendei
Piangendo a quei che volentier perdona. 120
Orribil furon li peccati miei :
Ma la bontà infinita ha sì gran braccia,
Che prende ciò che si rivolge a lei.
Se il Pastor di Cosenza, che alla caccia
Di me fu messo per Clemente, allora
Avesse in Dio ben letta questa faccia,
L' ossa del corpo mio sarien ancora
In co' del ponte presso a Benevento,
Sotto la guardia della grave mora.
Or le bagna la pioggia e muove il vento 130

¹²⁰ **quei** in oblique cases is rare. But cf. *Inf.* ii. 104, *Par.* xvii. 93, and 'per mala guardia di quegli che 'l custodiva,' *Villani* vi. 69. See note to vii. 96.

¹²¹ As an example of the blunders of copyists, it may be mentioned that four of the first five editions (1245) read '*dico senza*,' making of course absolute nonsense.

¹²⁶ **faccia**. 'Per ciascuna banda del foglio.' *Dict. Crusc.*, which refers to this line. The allusion may be to *Ezekiel* xviii. 27.

kingdom, hard by the Verde, whither he transported them with light put out. Through their malediction one is not so lost that the eternal love cannot return, so long as hope

Di fuor del regno, quasi lungo il Verde,
Ove le trasmutò a lume spento.
Per lor maladizion sì non si perde,
Che non possa tornar l' eterno amore,
Mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde.^e

^e *e fuor del Ald.*

* ¹³¹ **regno**, of Naples, or Apulia; as always, when the word is used alone. Villani's account, written evidently with this passage before his eyes (vii. 9), is as follows: 'Imperocch' era scomunicato, non volle il rè Carlo che fosse recato in luogo sacro; ma appiè del ponte di Benivento fu sopPELLITO, e sopra la sua fossa per ciascuno dell' oste gittata una pietra; onde si fece grande mora di sassi. Ma per alcuni si disse, che poi per mandato del papa, il vescovo di Cosenza il trasse di quella sepoltura, e mandollo fuori dal Regno, e ch' era terra di Chiesa, e fu sepolto lungo il fiume di Verde, a confini del Regno e di Campagna.' The last words show that Villani did not, with most of the older commentators, understand the Verde here mentioned to be the small stream which flows into the Tronto near Ascoli, but as is now generally thought, the Liris or Garigliano. See Blanc, who notices (*Erklärungen*) that in either case the body would have been taken *into* Church territory, whether the March of Ancona, or the Campagna of Rome.

¹³⁵ **ha fior**. *Fior* is used much as in Inf. xxv. 144, xxxiv. 26, but rather more literally. Others read *è fuor*, and take it to allude to the practice, mentioned by Sacchetti, Nov. xli., of painting the bottom of a candle green. Cf. Petr. Son. xxvi., where 'speme condotta al verde,' is called by Gesualdo, in Giglio's edition of 1553, 'metaphora de la candela,' as though it were common. But, as Speroni says, 'Il Petrarca crede imitar Dante, e s' inganna quanto alla cosa, e quanto alla lingua.' The other reading seems unquestionably the best, and far more like Dante's manner. Green, it may be observed, is the colour denoting hope. M. Angelo's 'Poichè d' ogni mia speme il verde è spento' is consistent with either explanation.

has any bloom of its green. True it is that whoso dies in contumacy of holy Church, although at last he repents him, it behoves him to stay without this bank, for all the time that he has remained in his presumption, thirty-fold, if such decree does not become shortened by kindly prayers. Hereafter see if thou canst make me happy, revealing to my good Constance how thou hast seen me, and also this interdict ; for here through those on that side much furthering is had.

Ver è, che quale in contumacia muore
Di Santa Chiesa, ancor che al fin si penta,
Star li convien da questa ripa in fuore
Per ogni tempo, ch' egli è stato, trenta,
In sua presunzion, se tal decreto 140
Più corto per buon prieghi non diventa.
Vedi oramai se tu mi puoi far lieto,
Rivelando alla mia buona Gostanza,
Come m' hai visto, ed anco esto divieto :
Chè qui per quei di là molto s' avanza.

CANTO IV

ARGUMENT

They enter a gap in the hillside and begin to climb. Virgil explains the motion of the sun as seen in the hemisphere where they are. Dante talks with Belacqua, whom he finds among those who have delayed their repentance through indolence.

WHEN, by reason of delight, yea, or of pain, which any virtue of ours conceives, the soul fully collects itself thereto, it seems that it attends to no power more; and this is against that error, which believes that one soul upon another is kindled in us. And therefore, when anything is heard or seen of such sort as to hold the soul fast turned

QUANDO per dilettanze ovver per doglie,
Che alcuna virtù nostra comprenda,^a
L' anima bene ad essa si raccoglie,
Par ch' a nulla potenza più intenda :
E questo è contra quello error che crede
Che un' anima sovr' altra in noi s' accenda.
E però quando s' ode cosa o vede,
Che tenga forte a sè l' anima volta,

^a *a. nostra vertute Cass.; u. v. n. si comp. Gg.*

¹⁻¹² See note at end of this Canto.

⁸ I have rather emphasised the subjunctive **tenga** to mark the exact equivalence of the construction with the similar one in Latin.

towards itself, the time goes by, and the man reck's not thereof, for that which is listening to it is one power, and that which keeps the soul entire is another; the latter is as it were bound, and the former is at large.

Of this I had a true experience, hearing that spirit and marvelling. For full fifty degrees had the sun climbed, and I had not heeded, when we came where those spirits with one voice cried to us: 'Here is what you ask!' A larger opening many a time the villager hedges up with a forkful of his thorns, when the grape is growing brown, than was the gap from which my Leader mounted, and I after him alone, when the troop parted from us. One

Vassene il tempo, e l' uom non se n' avvede :
 Ch' altra potenza è quella che l' ascolta ; 10
 Ed altra è quella che ha l' anima intera :
 Questa è quasi legata, e quella è sciolta.
 Di ciò ebb' io esperienza vera,
 Udendo quello spirto ed ammirando ;
 Chè ben cinquanta gradi salito era
 Lo Sole, ed io non m' era accorto, quando
 Venimmo dove quell' anime ad una
 Gridaro a noi : Quì è vostro dimando.
 Maggiore aperta molte volte impruna
 Con una forcatella di sue spine, 20
 L' uom della villa, quando l' uva imbruna,
 Che non era la calla, onde saline ^b
 Lo Duca mio ed io appresso soli,
 Come da noi la schiera si partìne.

^b *lo calle Gg. etc.; la calle 23.*

²² *calla*; so ix. 123; *callaia*, xxv. 7, is the commoner form.

goes to Sanleo and descends on Noli; one mounts over Bismantova to the summit, with only feet; but here behoves it that one fly, I mean with the swift wings and with the feathers of the great desire, following that guidance which gave me hope and made a light for me. We were climbing within the broken rock, and its surface grazed us on either side, and the ground below us required both feet and hands. When we were on the upper rim of the lofty bank, on the open mountain-side: 'My Master,' said I, 'what course shall we make?' And he to me: 'Let no step of thine

Vassi in Sanleo, e discendesi in Noli:

Montasi su Bismantova in cacume

Con esso i piè: ma qui convien ch' uom voli,

Dico con l' ali snelle e con le piume

Del gran disio dietro a quel condotto,

Che speranza mi dava, e facea lume.

30

Noi salavam per entro il sasso rotto,

E d' ogni lato ne stringea lo stremo,

E piedi e man voleva il suol di sotto.

Quando noi fummo in su l' orlo supremo

Dell' alta ripa, alla scoperta spiaggia,

Maestro mio, diss' io, che via faremo?

Ed egli a me: Nessun tuo passo caggia:

^{25, 26} **San Leo** in the duchy of Urbino, not far from San Marino. **Noli**, on the western Riviera between Albenga and Savona. **Bismantova**, said to be a mountain near Reggio. 'Cacume è una molto ripida montagna in campagna,' says Landino, and Vellutello follows him. This is of course absurd.

²⁷ **con esso i piè**; so 'con esso i due,' xxiv. 98, etc. For this use of *esso* indeclinable, see Diez ii. 426. **uom** here exactly = Fr. *on* (homo), cf. l. 90, Diez iii. 280.

²⁹ **condotto**; so used also Conv. i. 11.

³¹ There seems no reason for rejecting the Florentine form **salavam**, which is found in most early edd. and many MSS.

descend; only gain ground upwards on the mountain behind me, until some wise escort appears for us.' The summit was lofty, that it surpassed our sight, and the mountain-side full steeper than a band from mid-quadrant to centre. I was weary, when I began: 'O sweet father, turn thee and behold how I remain alone, if thou stay not.' 'My son,' said he, 'draw thyself as far as there,' pointing me out a terrace not much above, which on that side circles the whole steep. His words so spurred me that I forced myself, clambering behind him until I had the ring beneath my feet. There we both sate us down, turned towards the

Pur suso al monte dietro a me acquista,
 Fin che n' appaia alcuna scortaaggia.
 Lo sommo er' alto che vincea la vista, 40
 E la costa superba più assai,
 Che da mezzo quadrante a centro lista.
 Io era lasso, quando cominciai:
 O dolce padre, volgiti e rimira,
 Com' io rimango sol, se non ristai.
 Figliuol mio, disse, infin quivi ti tira,
 Additandomi un balzo poco in sue,
 Che da quel lato il poggio tutto gira.
 Sì mi spronaron le parole sue,
 Ch' io mi sforzai, carpando appresso lui, 50
 Tanto che il cinghio sotto i piè mi fue.
 A seder ci ponemmo ivi ambedui

³⁸ **acquista**, cf. *Inf.* xxvi. 126.

⁴² More than forty-five degrees—a very sufficient inclination, as all mountaineers know.

⁴⁸ **da quel lato**, 'on that side of,' i.e. 'above' where we were.

⁵¹ **tanto che**, so *Fr.* *tant que*. The indicative follows because the completion of the action is past. *Diez* iii. 321.

east, whence we had mounted, for to look backward is wont to please any man. First I directed my eyes to the low shores ; afterwards I raised them to the sun, and wondered that we were smitten by him on the left. The poet well perceived that I was standing all stupefied before the chariot of the light, where between us and Aquilo he was entering. Wherefore he to me : ' If Castor and Pollux had been in company of that mirror, which leads of its light both

Volti a levante, ond' eravam saliti,
 Chè suole a riguardar giovare altrui.^c
 Gli occhi prima drizzai ai bassi liti,
 Poscia gli alzai al Sole, ed ammirava,
 Che da sinistra n' eravam feriti.
 Ben s' avvide il Poeta, che io restava
 Stupido tutto al carro della luce,
 Ove tra noi ed Aquilone intrava.
 Ond' egli a me : Se Castore e Polluce
 Fossero in compagnia di quello specchio,
 Che su e giù del suo lume conduce,

60

^c *Perchè suole a guardar Gg.*

⁵⁴ For this use of **altrui**, as an indefinite pronoun, cf. Inf. i. 18. See Diez iii. 76. Infinitive with **a**, after **giovare**, is not common, but **a** is sometimes almost 'otiose.' 'In vece del articolo si prepone talvolta, per un certo vezzo toscano, la preposizione *a* all' infinito. Bocc. Day 8, Nov. 9. Che cosa è a favellare e ad usare co' savj.' Corticelli. So M. Ang. Sonnet 77, 'a trovar grazia . . . è raro.' In French we have 'il lui platt à faire qqch.'

⁵⁵ *sqq.* See note to iii. 89. **da sinistra**, cf. Conv. iii. 5, vedrebbe quello andarsi per lo braccio sinistro.

⁶¹ I.e., if it were the month of June, when the sun is in Gemini, that part of the Zodiac in which he then would be would lie nearer the north.

⁶² **specchio**: the Sun. So of the planet Saturn, Par. xxi. 18. The light they reflect is from God.

upward and down, thou wouldst see the fiery Zodiac rotate yet closer to the Bears, unless it had issued forth from its old road. How that is, if thou wouldst be able to conceive, with inward recollection picture to thyself that Sion stands with this mountain in suchwise on the earth, that both have a single horizon and diverse hemispheres; whence, if thy intellect considers clearly, thou wilt see how it behoves that the road, whereon to his own mishap Phaethon knew not how to drive, should pass on the one side to this mount, when to that it is on the other side.'

'Certes, my Master,' said I, 'never saw I aught so

Tu vedresti il Zodiaco rubecchio
 Ancora all' Orse più stretto rotare,
 Se non uscisse fuor del cammin vecchio.
 Come ciò sia, se il vuoi poter pensare,
 Dentro raccolto immagina Sion
 Con questo monte in su la terra stare,
 Sì ch' ambedue hanno un solo orizon, 70
 E diversi emisperi: onde la strada,
 Che mal non seppe carreggiar Fetton,
 Vedrai com' a costui convien che vada
 Dall' un, quando a colui dall' altro fianco,
 Se l' intelletto tuo ben chiara bada.
 Certo, Maestro mio, diss' io, unquanco

⁷⁰ See note to ii. 1.

⁷² Dante is fond of referring to the legend of Phaethon. See xxix. 118, Par. xxxi. 125. Here he is possibly thinking of Timaeus, 22 C, where the myth is explained to mean 'a deviation of the bodies that move round the earth in the heavens, whereby comes at long intervals of time a destruction with much fire of the things that are upon earth' (Archer Hind, who understands the reference to be to some phenomenon recurring regularly, but at long intervals).

clearly as I [now] discern, there where my intellect seemed wanting, that the mid-circle of heavenly movement, which in a certain art is called Equator, and which ever remains between the sun and the winter, here, for the reason that thou sayest, is distant towards the north, by so much as the Hebrews saw it towards the warm quarter. But if it please thee, willingly would I know how far we have to go, for the hill mounts more than my eyes are able.' And he to me: 'This mountain is such that ever at the beginning below it is hard, and the more one mounts, the less it pains him. Wherefore, when it shall appear so pleasant to thee

Non vid' io chiaro sì, com' io discerno,
 Là dove mio ingegno pareo manco,
 Che il mezzo cerchio del moto superno,
 Che si chiama Equatore in alcun' arte, 80
 E che sempre riman tra il Sole e il verno,
 Per la ragion, che di', quindi si parte
 Verso settentrion, quanto gli Ebrei
 Vedevan lui verso la calda parte.
 Ma, se a te piace, volentier saprei,
 Quanto avemo ad andar, chè il poggio sale
 Più che salir non posson gli occhi miei.
 Ed egli a me: Questa montagna è tale,
 Che sempre al cominciar di sotto è grave,
 E quanto uom più va su, e men fa male. 90
 Pero quand' ella ti parrà soave

⁸⁰ *alcun' arte*; astronomy. *arte* is the Aristotelian *τέχνη*, which includes science, quite as much as what we mean by 'art.' See Bonitz, to *Metaph.* 981 B.

^{89, 90} The way of repentance is hard at first, but becomes easy by persistence.

that to go upon it shall be to thee as easy as to go down with a favouring stream on shipboard, then wilt thou be at the end of this road ; there expect to repose thy weariness : more I answer not, and this I know for true.'

And, as he had said his word, a voice from hard by sounded : 'Mayhap that thou wilt first have constraint to sit.' At the sound of it each of us turned, and we saw on the left a great stone, whereof neither I nor he had before taken note. We drew thither ; and there were persons who stood in the shade behind the rock, as one through

Tanto, che il su andar ti fia leggiero,
 Come a seconda il giù andar per nave :
 Allor sarai al fin d' esto sentiero :
 Quivi di riposar l' affanno aspetta :
 Più non rispondo, e questo so per vero.
 E, com' egli ebbe sua parola detta,
 Una voce di presso sonò : Forse
 Che di sedere in prima avrai distretta.
 Al suon di lei ciascun di noi si torse,
 E vedemmo a mancina un gran petrone,
 Del qual nè io nè ei prima s' accorse.
 Là ci traemmo ; ed ivi eran persone,
 Che si stavano all' ombra dietro al sasso,

100

⁹³ **seconda**, or 'a favouring breeze.'

⁹⁵ This line is worth noting as an extreme instance of the way in which Dante, agreeably to the genius of all the Romance languages, arranges his words quite regardless of what would appear to be their natural scansion.

¹⁰⁰ **si torse** ; in Dante, *torcersi* = usually 'to turn at right angles,' 'to face' ; *volgersi* = 'to turn right round,' 'to face about' ; *tornare* = 'to turn back to a former position.' This distinction, however, does not appear to have been maintained in Italian.

¹⁰³ Those who have postponed repentance to the last moment through indolence.

listlessness sets him to stand. And one of them who seemed to me weary, was sitting and embracing his knees, holding his face down low between them. 'O my sweet Lord,' I cried, 'cast eye on him who shows himself more careless than if laziness were his sister.' Then he turned him to us, and gave heed, merely moving his face upward by the thigh, and said: 'Go up now thou, for thou art strong.' I knew then who he was; and that struggle which was still quickening my breath a little, did not hinder my going to him; and after I had reached him he hardly raised his head, saying: 'Hast thou quite perceived how

Como uom per negligenza a star si pone.
Ed un di lor che mi sembrava lasso,
Sedeva ed abbracciava le ginocchia,
Tenendo il viso giù tra esse basso.
O dolce Signor mio, diss' io, adocchia
Colui che mostra se più negligente,
Che se pigrizia fosse sua sirocchia. 110
Allor si volse a noi, e pose mente,
Movendo il viso pur su per la coscia,
E disse: Or va su tu che sei valente.
Conobbi allor chi era; e quell' angoscia,
Che m' avacciava un poco ancor la lena,
Non m' impedì l' andare a lui; e poscia
Ch' a lui fui giunto, alzò la testa appena,
Dicendo: Hai ben veduto, come il Sole

¹¹⁹ Bianchi compares *De Monarchia* ii. 1: 'Cum causam cognoscimus, eos qui sunt in admiratione restantes quadam derisione despicimus.' I am disposed, however, to think that there is a far finer dramatic touch in the passage, as Landino sees. His comment is 'Sempre i pigri scherniscono chi e diligente ad investigare alcuna cosa degna.'

the Sun guides his chariot by thy left shoulder?' His lazy gestures, and his curt words moved my lips a little to a smile; then I began: 'Belacqua, henceforth it grieves me not for thee; but tell me, why art thou seated here? Awaitest thou escort, or has thy wonted habit only retaken thee?' And he: 'Brother, what boots it to go up? for the bird of God who sits above the gate would not permit me to go to the torments. Behoves that first the heaven

Dall' omero sinistro il carro mena? 120
 Gli atti suoi pigri, e le corte parole
 Mosson le labbra mie un poco a riso:
 Poi cominciai: Belacqua, a me non duole
 Di te omai: ma dimmi, perchè assiso
 Quiritta sei? attendi tu iscorta,
 O pur lo modo usato t' ha ripreso?
 Ed ei: Frate, l' andar su che porta?
 Chè non mi lascerebbe ire ai martiri
 L' uccel di Dio, che siede in su la porta.^d
 Prima convien, che tanto il Ciel m' aggiri 130

^d *angel Bi. etc.; uscier Cr.*

¹²³ Belacqua (= Bevilacqua) fu un eccellente fabbricatore di cetre e di altri istrumenti musicali, ma uomo pigrissimo. Bianchi.

¹²⁵ **quiritta.** So xvii. 86.

¹²⁹ Cf. ii. 38. Philaethes has 'der Pfortner Gottes,' following the Cruscan edition. There does not, however, appear to be much MS. support for this otherwise satisfactory reading. But vid. Blanc. Dict. s.v. *uscier*. The slight familiarity of the term is not unsuitable in the mouth of the easy-going Belacqua. The reading *angel* would seem to be borrowed from ix. 104.

^{130, 131} 'Convien che il cielo mi giri tanto tempo fuori di essa porta di Purgatorio cioè che passi tanto tempo, quanto tempo passò in vita.'—Landino. This use of *aggirare* is similar to that in Conv. iii. 5: 'Il mondo dal Sole è girato,' and in the Canzone of the same book.

must circle round me [waiting] outside thereof, for so long a time as it did in my life, because I delayed to the end my pious sighs ; if prayer first helps me not, such as may rise up from a heart that lives in grace ; what avails the other, which is not heard in heaven ?^e

And already the poet was mounting before me, and was saying : ‘ Come now away, see how the meridian is touched by the Sun, and on the verge the night covers already with her foot Morocco.’

Di fuor da essa, quanto fece in vita,^e
 Perch' io indugiai al fin li buon sospiri,
 Se orazione in prima non m' aita,
 Che surga su di cuor che in grazia viva :
 L' altra che val, che in Ciel non è udita ?^f
 E già il Poeta innanzi mi saliva,
 E dicea : Vienne omai : vedi ch' è tocco
 Meridian dal Sole, ed alla riva
 Cuopre la notte già col piè Marrocco.

^e *quant' io feci* Gg. 1234 Lomb. ; *quanto feci* Cass. ^f *gradita* Ald.

¹³⁷ **tocco.** For this syncopated form of the participle, see Diez ii. 138.

¹³⁹ Morocco being on the eastern horizon of Purgatory, as India (ii. 5) is on the western.

NOTE TO LINES 1-12.

The general drift of these lines is plain enough ; but there is a point to be noticed which seems to have escaped attention, though it has some importance as bearing on Dante's philosophy. Most of, or all, the commentators have taken **virtù** and **potenzia** as signifying the same thing ; thus Bianchi : ‘ Per virtù o potenza dell' anima s' intendono generalmente le facoltà per cui opera.’ That *virtute* and *potentiā* are used indiscriminately by the schoolmen to represent the Aristotelian *δυνάμει*,

as opposed to *actū*, *ἐνεργεία*, there can be no doubt ; but there is also a sense in which *virtus* is by no means the same as *potentia*, though Aristotle had only one word for the two meanings. Still he says (Metaph. θ 1—1046 a) *πάλιν δ' αὐταὶ αἱ δυνάμεις λέγονται, ἡ τοῦ μόνον ποιῆσαι ἢ παθεῖν ἢ τοῦ καλῶς*. Cf. iv. 12. Now this second *δύναμις*, not the mere *potentiality* of doing, but *capacity* of doing well, issues when manifested in *ἀρετή*, which (Eth. Nic. ii. 5—1106 a) *οὗ δὲν ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτὸ τε εὖ ἀποτελεῖ καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ εὖ ἀποδίδωσι*. This probably accounts for the use of *virtus* as equivalent to the good *δύναμις*. At any rate Aquinas (S. T. ii. 1. Q. 55. A. 1) says: 'Virtus nominat quamdam potentiae perfectionem. . . . Id enim in quod ultimo potentia potest, est id quod dicitur virtus rei.' Dante clearly indicates this distinction. Thus in Canto xvii. 73-75 at the approach of night, this *virtù* of walking 'melts away,' but the *possa* is only suspended. So in the same Canto, at the sight of the resplendent angel it is his *virtù* which fails ; but in the presence of God (Par. xxxiii. 142) 'alla fantasia mancò *possa*.' Comparing these and the present passage with Eth. Nic. x. 5 (1175 b) *οἱ γὰρ φίλανθοι ἀδυνατοῦσι τοῖς λόγοις προσέχειν ἔαν κατακούσωσιν αὐλοῦντος, μᾶλλον χαίροντες αὐλητικῇ τῆς παρούσης ἐνεργείας· ἢ κατὰ τὴν αὐλητικὴν οὖν ἡδονὴ τὴν περὶ τὸν λόγον ἐνεργείαν· φθείρει ; and ἡ γὰρ ἡδίων τὴν ἑτέραν ἐκκρούει, ὥστε μὴδ' ἐνεργεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν*, or with De Sensu ch. 7 (447 a), we see that Dante brings his *virtù* sometimes very near *ἐνέργεια*. We must, however, I think, stop short of this, and explain as follows: 'When any one "power" of the soul is manifesting itself in the due performance (*bene si raccoglie*) of any of its functions—in this case the sensitive in its function of listening—the soul cannot be acted on by any other ; in that case that which keeps the soul "entire" and the various "powers" duly balanced, and by which we are conscious of the flight of time.' This last *δύναμις τῆς ψυχῆς*, it may be remarked, seems to have been discovered since Aristotle's classification (De Anima ii. 3) was made ; nor does Dante in his expositions of Aristotle's doctrine (Conv. iii. 2, iv. 7) specify it. It may be taken to be a department of *τὸ διανοητικόν*, *intellectiva*. The argument against the Platonic doctrine (Timaeus 69) of separate souls, which Dante incidentally deduces from the inability of two *potenzie* to manifest themselves simultaneously, is almost directly from Aquinas, who says (S. T. i. 1. Q. 76. A. 3): 'Si ponamus animam corpori uniri sicut formam, omnino impossibile videtur plures animas per essentiam differentes in uno corpore esse. . . . Apparet hoc esse impossibile, per hoc quod una operatio (here is *ἐνέργεια* again) animae cum fuerit intensa, impedit aliam.'

There seems to be a little difference of opinion as to which *potenzia* is *legata* and which *sciolta*. But cf. Conv. ii. 14: ancora la musica trae

a se gli spiriti umani, che sono quasi principalmente vapori del cuore, sicchè quasi cessano da ogni operazione, sì è l'anima intera quando l'ode, e la virtù di tutti quasi corre allo spirito sensibile che riceve il suono. See Giuliani's note to this passage, and that of Philalethes here. It is I think pretty clear that we must take *sciolta* as = 'free to perform its function,' and therefore as applying to the faculty of hearing. It is interesting to compare Locke's account of the converse state of mind: 'How often may a man observe in himself that whilst his mind is intently employed in the contemplation of some objects, and curiously surveying some ideas that are there, it takes no notice of impressions of sounding bodies made upon the organ of the hearing.' Essay: ii. ch. 9 § 4.

CANTO V

ARGUMENT

They are overtaken by another troop, certain of whom, on learning that Dante is a living man, make themselves known to him. These are they who have been cut off by violence, but have repented at the point of death. Among them are Jacopo del Cassero, Buonconte da Montefeltro, and Pia. They recount the manner of their deaths.

I HAD already parted from those shades, and was following the tracks of my Leader, when behind me, pointing the finger, one cried : ‘Look, how it seems that the ray illuminates not to the left of him who is lowermost, and as a living man he seems to demean himself.’ I turned my eyes back at the sound of this word, and saw them gaze for wonder at me, me only, and the light that was broken.

Io era già da quell' ombre partito,
E seguitava l' orme del mio Duca,
Quando dietro a me, drizzando il dito,
Una gridò : Ve', che non par che luca
Lo raggio da sinistra a quel di sotto,
E come vivo par che si conduca.
Gli occhi rivolsi al suon di questo motto,
E vidile guardar per maraviglia
Pur me, pur me, e il lume ch' era rotto.

'Why does thy mind so much perplex itself,' said my Master, 'that thou slackenest thy going? What is it to thee, that which is whispered there? Come behind me, and let the folk talk; stand like a firm tower which never shakes its top for blast of winds. For ever the man, in whom thought wells up over thought, removes far from himself his mark, because the rush of the second slackens the first.' What could I reply, if not 'I come'? I said it, overspread somewhat with that colour which makes a man worthy at times of pardon.

And therewithal along the hillside across were coming

Perchè l' animo tuo tanto s' impiglia, 10
 Disse il Maestro, che l' andare allenti?
 Che ti fa ciò che quivi si pispiglia?
 Vien dietro a me, e lascia dir le genti,
 Sta come torre ferma, che non crolla^a
 Giammai la cima per soffiar dei venti.
 Chè sempre l' uomo, in cui pensier rampolla
 Sovra pensier, da sè dilunga il segno,
 Perchè la foga l' un dell' altro insolla.
 Che poteva io ridir, se non : Io vegno?
 Dissilo, alquanto del color consperso, 20
 Che fa l' uom di perdon tal volta degno.
 E intanto per la costa da traverso

^a *fermo Bi.*

¹⁰ **impigliare** is used in its literal sense in line 83: metaphorically, as here, in xiv. 117.

¹⁶⁻¹⁸ 'The man who allows one thought to follow on another fails to keep his object clearly before him.'

¹⁸ **foga**: Buti appears to read *soga*, as if the metaphor were from a bowstring! Several edd. before 1500 read *forza*. — **insolla**; for *sollo*, see xxvii. 40.

folk in front of us a little, singing *Miserere*, verse by verse. When they perceived that by reason of my body I did not give place to the passage of the rays, they changed their chant into an O long and hoarse, and two of them in guise of messengers ran to meet us, and demanded of us: 'Make us acquainted with your condition.' And my Master: 'Ye can go your way, and report to them that sent you that the body of this man is very flesh. If for the sight of his shadow they stood still, as I opine, enough is answered them; let them do him honour, and he may be dear to them.' Never saw I kindled vapours so swiftly

Venivan genti innanzi a noi un poco,
 Cantando *Miserere* a verso a verso.
 Quando s' accorser ch' io non dava loco,
 Per lo mio corpo, al trapassar de' raggi,
 Mutar lor canto in un O lungo e roco,
 E due di loro in forma di messaggi
 Corsero incontr' a noi, e dimandarne :
 Di vostra condizion fatene saggi. 30
 E il mio Maestro : Voi potete andarne,
 E ritrarre a color che vi mandaro,
 Che il corpo di costui è vera carne.
 Se per veder la sua ombra restaro,
 Com' io avviso, assai è lor risposto :
 Faccianli onore, ed esser può lor caro.
 Vapori accesi non vid' io sì tosto

²⁴ *Miserere*, i.e. the 51st (or in the Vulgate 50th) Psalm.

²⁶ *per lo mio corpo*. I have followed Blanc and Biagioli in taking *per* as equivalent to the Latin *prae*, as in iv. 1, and frequently. Lombardi takes it as=*per* 'the passage of the rays through my body.' The former seems better to suit the order of the words.

³⁷ Following Aristotle (Meteorol. i. 4) he regards shooting-stars

cleave at early night the clear sky, nor, as the sun is falling, August clouds that these did not return upward in less time, and arrived there they with the others wheeled round to us, like a troop which goes without rein. 'This folk which presses on us is many and they come to entreat thee,' said the poet, 'wherefore only go on, and in thy going listen.' They came crying: 'O spirit, that goest to be happy with those limbs which thou hadst at thy birth, slacken thy pace a little. Look if thou hast ever seen any one of us, so that thou mayest bear news of him on that side; why goest

Di prima notte mai fender sereno,^b
 Nè, Sol calando, nuvole d' Agosto,
 Che color non tornasser suso in meno, 40
 E giunti là, con gli altri a noi dier volta,
 Come schiera che corre senza freno.
 Questa gente che preme a noi, è molta,
 E vengonti a pregar, disse il Poeta,
 Però pur va, ed in andando ascolta.^c
 O anima, che vai per esser lieta
 Con quelle membra, con le quai nascesti,
 Venian gridando, un poco il passo queta.
 Guarda se alcun di noi unque vedesti,
 Sì che di lui di là novelle porti: 50

^b *Mezza notte Ald.*

^c *e imaginando Gg.*

and 'summer' lightning as different forms of the same phenomenon, considering both due to kindled vapour. This is obviously the right interpretation, and not that which takes *nuvole d' Agosto* as the subject and not the object of **fendere**, for the motion of clouds is never so great as to suggest extreme rapidity. Cf. Par. Lost iv. 556.

⁴⁰ **che non** = Latin *quin*.

⁴⁷ **membra**. So usually; but sometimes **membre**, as vi. 147.

thou, prithee? why dost thou not stay? We were all once slain by violence, and sinners up to our last hour; then light of heaven made us conscious, so that repenting and forgiving, we issued forth of life reconciled to God, who pricks our hearts with the desire to see Him.' And I: 'For all that I gaze in your faces, I do not recognise any one; but if aught that I can do pleases you, O spirits born to bliss, do ye say it, and I will do it for the sake of that peace, which makes me, following the feet of a guide thus-fashioned, seek it from world to world.'

Deh perchè vai? deh perchè non t'arresti?^d
 Noi fummo già tutti per forza morti,
 E peccatori infino all' ultim' ora:
 Quivi lume del Ciel ne fece accorti
 Sì, che pentendo e perdonando, fuora
 Di vita uscimmo a Dio pacificati,
 Che del disio di sè veder n' accora.
 Ed io: Perchè nei vostri visi guati,
 Non riconosco alcun, ma s' a voi piace
 Cosa ch' io possa, spiriti ben nati, 60
 Voi dite ed io farò per quella pace,
 Che, dietro ai piedi di sì fatta guida,
 Di mondo in mondo cercar mi si face.

^d *Di perchè . . . none arr. Gg.*

⁵¹ **perchè vai** seems a sort of formula. Cf. ii. 90.

⁵⁷ **sè**; so **si cercar** in l. 63, corresponding precisely with the Latin use. **accora**; Inf. xv. 82, cf. iii. 3.

⁵⁸ **perchè**, see notes Inf. xv. 15, xvi. 93.

⁵⁹ **non riconosco**: merely, no doubt, because he had never met them in life.

And one began: 'Each one puts his faith in thy good offices, without thy swearing it, so only that want of power cut not will away. Whence I, who speak alone before the rest, pray thee, if ever thou see that land which lies between Romagna and Charles's land, that thou wouldst be gracious to me of thy prayers in Fano, so that on my behalf supplication be well made, that I may have power to purge my heavy offences. I of that place was, but the deep wounds, whence issued the blood whereon my soul held its seat, were made for me in the midst of the sons of

Ed uno incominciò: Ciascun si fida
 Del beneficio tuo senza giurarlo,
 Pur che il voler non possa non ricida.
 Ond' io, che solo, innanzi agli altri parlo,
 Ti prego, se mai vedi quel paese,
 Che siede tra Romagna e quel di Carlo,
 Che tu mi sie dei tuoi prieghi cortese 70
 In Fano sì, che ben per me s' adori,
 Perch' io possa purgar le gravi offese.
 Quindi fu' io, ma li profondi fori,
 Ond' uscì il sangue, in sul qual io sedeai,
 Fatti mi furo in grembo agli Antenori,

⁶⁴ This is Jacopo del Cassero of Fano (doubtless a relative of Guido del Cassero, *Inf.* xxviii. 76) formerly *podestà* of Bologna; who was assassinated by order of Azzo d' Este while on his way to assume the same office at Milan (Bianchi). The date is given as 1298, but as peace between Bologna and Ferrara was only made, after a three years' war, in May 1299 (*Villani* viii. 28), this murder could hardly have been committed earlier. If he had been killed by an open enemy he would hardly speak as he does. A Jacopo da Fano is mentioned by Villani, vii. 120, among a number of Guelf chiefs.

⁶⁸ *quel paese*: the March of Ancona.

⁶⁹ *quel di Carlo*: the kingdom of Apulia.

⁷⁴ *io*; the soul being that which preserves the personal identity.

⁷⁵ *Antenori*, Paduans. 'Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque

Antenor, there where I trusted to be most secure ; he of Esti bade do it, who had me in wrath far enough beyond what justice willed. But if I had fled towards La Mira when I was overtaken at Oriaco, still should I be on that side where they breathe. I ran to the marsh, and the cane-brake and the mud entangled me so that I fell, and there saw I a lake form itself on the ground from my veins.'

Then said another : 'I pray so may that desire be fulfilled which draws thee to the lofty mount, with kindly piety help mine. I was of Montefeltro, I am Buonconte ;

Là dov' io più sicuro esser credea :
 Quel da Esti il fe' far, che m' avea in ira
 Assai più là che il dritto non volea.
 Ma s' io fossi fuggito inver La Mira,
 Quand' io fui sovraggiunto ad Oriaco, 80
 Ancor sarei di là, dove si spira.
 Corsi al palude, e le cannuce e il braco
 M' impigliar sì, ch' io caddi, e lì vid' io
 Delle mie vene farsi in terra laco.
 Poi disse un' altro : Deh, se quel disio
 Si compia che ti tragge all' alto monte,
 Con buona pietate aiuta il mio.
 Io fui di Montefeltro, io son Buonconte :

locavit Teucrorum.'—Virg. *Aeneid* i. 247. Philalethes thinks with an allusion to their treacherous understanding with Azzo, Antenor being one of the typical traitors, after whom a quarter of hell is named.

^{79, 80} La Mira and Oriaco. Two small towns on the Brenta between Padua and Venice.

⁸¹ 'I should still be in the world of living men.'

⁸⁵ See note to ii. 16.

⁸⁸ Buonconte da Montefeltro, son of Guido, fought on the side of

Joan, or any other, has no care of me; wherefore I go among these with lowered brow.' And I to him: 'What force or what adventure led thee so far astray from Campaldino, that thy sepulture has never been known?' 'Oh,' answered he, 'at foot of the Casentino a stream goes across, which has to name Archiano, which takes its rise above the hermitage in Apennine. Where its name becomes void came I, pierced in the throat, flying on foot, and stain-

Giovanna, o altri non ha di me cura;
 Perch' io vo tra costor con bassa fronte. 90
 Ed io a lui: Qual forza, o qual ventura
 Ti traviò sì fuor di Campaldino,
 Che non si seppe mai tua sepoltura?
 Oh, rispos' egli, appiè del Casentino
 Traversa un' acqua che ha nome l' Archiano,
 Che sovra l' Ermo nasce in Apennino.
 Dove il vocabol suo diventa vano,^e
 Arriva' io forato nella gola,
 Fuggendo a piede, e sanguinando il piano.

^e *La 've Gg. Ald. Land. Bi. etc.*

Arezzo and the Ghibelines, at the battle of Campaldino or Certomondo, in the upper valley of the Arno (called the Casentino) on June 11, 1289. On the other side were the Guelfs of Tuscany, with Florence at the head, in whose ranks Dante himself is said to have fought. The men of Arezzo were beaten and their leaders slain. See Villani vii. 131. **fui** . . . **son**: see note Inf. xxxiii. 13.

⁹⁶ **l' Ermo**: the monastery of Camaldoli.

⁹⁷ Where it falls into the Arno, and loses its own name; see l. 122. The point is just above Bibbiena. The reading **la 've** is probably an instance of a very common source of corruptions in a text. *Nome* (which is found in some MSS.) was no doubt written as a gloss on **vocabol**. Then it got substituted for it. Then some one prefixed **la** to **dove** to make the line scan. Then **vocabol** got restored, and to get rid of a superfluous syllable, **dove** was cut down to **'ve**.

ing the plain with blood. There I lost my sight, and my speech finished with the name of Mary, and there I fell, and my flesh alone remained. I will tell the truth, and do thou repeat it among the living; the Angel of God took me, and he of Hell cried: "O thou from heaven, why robbest thou me? Thou bearest away for thyself the eternal part of this man, for one little tear which takes him from me; but with the other part will I take other order." Thou knowest well how in the air collects itself that moist vapour which returns to water as soon as it mounts where the cold condenses it. Thither came that evil will, which seeks evil

Quivi perdei la vista, e la parola^f 100
 Nel nome di Maria finì, e quivi^g ,
 Caddi, e rimase la mia carne sola.
 Io dirò il vero, e tu il ridi' tra i vivi:
 L' Angel di Dio mi prese, e quel d' Inferno
 Gridava: O tu dal Ciel, perchè mi privi?
 Tu te ne porti di costui l' eterno
 Per una lagrimetta che 'l mi toglie,
 Ma io farò dell' altro altro governo.
 Ben sai come nell' aer si raccoglie
 Quell' umido vapor che in acqua riede, 110
 Tosto che sale dove il freddo il coglie.
 Giunse quel mal voler, che pur mal chiede

^f *la parola*; *Bl.*

^g *finii W.*

¹⁰² **rimanere** is a technical word for being killed in battle. See Villani *passim*.

¹⁰⁴ Compare the account of his father's end, Inf. xxvii. 113. It is worth noting that Buonconte, like Manfred, died excommunicate.

¹⁰⁸ **farò governo**; so Inf. xxvii. 47.

¹⁰⁹⁻¹¹¹ *Συγλισταται ἡ ἀτμός ψυχομένη . . . καὶ γίγνεται ὕδωρ ἐξ ἀέρος.* Ar. Meteor. i. 9.

¹¹² **che pur mal chiede**; S.T. 1. Q. 64. A. 2, discusses the question

only with its intelligence, and moved the vapour and the wind through the power which its nature gave. Then, when the day was spent, he covered the valley from Pratomagno to the great ridge with clouds, and made overcast the heaven above, so that the teeming air was turned to water; the rain fell, and to the trenches came so much of it as the earth did not endure; and as it came together into the great streams, it rushed so swift towards the royal river that naught held it back. My body, cold,

Con l' intelletto, e mosse il fumo e il vento
Per la virtù, che sua natura diede.

Indi la valle, come il dì fu spento,
Da Pratomagno al gran giogo coperse
Dì nebbia, e il ciel di sopra fece intento ^h
Sì, che il pregno aere in acqua si converse:
La pioggia cadde, e ai fossati venne
Di lei ciò che la terra non sofferse: 120
E come ai rivi grandi si convenne,
Ver lo fiume real tanto veloce
Si ruinò, che nulla la ritenne.

^h *il giel Gg. W.*

'Utrum voluntas daemonum sit obstinata in malo,' and decides it in the affirmative.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Eph. ii. 2 τὸν ἀρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος.

¹¹⁶ **gran giogo**, the main ridge of the Apennine, which forms the east side of the Casentino, the ridge of Pratomagno being on the west.

¹²² **fiume real**, usually understood to mean the Arno, though Scart. thinks the Archiano. The question is not very important; but the former seems to have the best claim to the epithet. Cf. Claudian Bell. Get. 333 sqq. of the Rhine and Danube:—

Primo fonte breves, mox alto gurgite *regnant*,
Et fluvios cogunt unda coeunte minores
In nomen transire suum.

hard upon its mouth the swollen Archiano found; and that hurried it into the Arno, and loosened on my breast the cross, which I made of myself when the pain overcame me; it rolled me by the banks and by the bottom; then with its plunder covered me and girt me.'

'I pray, when thou art returned to the world, and rested from thy long journey,' the third spirit followed on the second, 'be mindful of me, that am Pia. Siena made me, Maremma unmade me; he knows it, who, ringed as I was before, had espoused me with his own gem.'

Lo corpo mio gelato in su la foce
 Trovò l' Archian' rubesto; e quel sospinse
 Nell' Arno, e sciolse al mio petto la croce,
 Ch' io fei di me quando il dolor mi vinse:
 Voltommi per le ripe, e per lo fondo;
 Poi di sua preda mi coperse e cinse.
 Deh, quando tu sarai tornato al mondo, 130
 E riposato della lunga via,
 Seguitò il terzo spirito al secondo,
 Ricorditi di me, che son la Pia:
 Siena mi fe, disfecemi Maremma:
 Salsi colui che inannellata pria
 Disposato m' avea con la sua gemma.

¹²⁴ **in su**, 'just over,' i.e. 'close upon'; in this sense more often of time, as xxvii. 38.

¹²⁹ **preda**, the stones and earth which it carried down.

¹³³ **Pia** Guastelloni, married first to a Tolomei, then to Nello Panocchieschi, of Castel della Pietra; murdered by order of her second husband, on a suspicion of infidelity, at a castle in the Sienese Maremma.

¹³⁵ **salsi** = se lo sa. So xxxi. 90. This use of the reflexive form (cf. vi. 2) must be distinguished from its use as equivalent to passive, e.g. in line 93.

¹³⁶ The early edd. read **disposando**. The more recent editions seem to agree in **disposato**, which is decidedly preferable in point of sense. See Bianchi's note.

CANTO VI

ARGUMENT

Dante speaks with other spirits, among whom is Peter de la Brosse. Virgil enlightens him on the subject of prayer for those in Purgatory. They meet Sordello of Mantua, who greets Virgil, when he learns that he is his countryman. Dante inveighs against the divisions of Italy and the Emperor's neglect, and especially against his own city of Florence.

WHEN the game of hazard breaks up, he who loses remains dolefully recalling the throws, and learns by his grief; with the other, all the folk go their way; one goes before, and one catches him from behind, and another on one side

QUANDO si parte il giuoco della zara
Colui che perde si riman dolente,
Ripetendo le volte, e tristo impara :
Con l' altro se ne va tutta la gente :
Qual va dinanzi, e qual dietro il prende,
E qual da lato gli si reca a mente :

¹ **zara** played with three dice. See Blanc, Erklärungen. Philalethes, following Buti, says that the thrower backed the numbers from 7-14, and when any of these turned up cried **zara** = zero. The odds are considerably in favour of the thrower, and this the loser finds out by experience. Vellutello, who gives a somewhat different account, says that it is also called *cianza* = chance.

brings himself to his remembrance. He stays him not, and listens to one and the other ; the man to whom he reaches his hand makes no more press, and thus he defends himself from the jostling. Such was I in that thick crowd, turning to them here and there my face and promising, I got me clear of it. Here was the Aretine, who from the fierce arms of Ghino di Tacco had his death ; and the other who was drowned while running in the rout. Here was praying with his hands outspread Frederick Novello, and he of

Ei non s' arresta, e questo e quello intende :

A cui porge la man più non fa pressa :

E così dalla calca si difende.

Tal era io in quella turba spessa,

10

Volgendo a loro e qua e là la faccia,

E promettendo mi sciogliea da essa.

Quivi era l' Aretin, che dalle braccia

Fiere di Ghin di Tacco ebbe la morte,

E l' altro ch' annegò correndo in caccia.

Quivi pregava con le mani sporte

Federigo Novello, e quel da Pisa,

¹³ Benincasa of Arezzo being acting *podestà* of Siena put to death the brother of Ghino di Tacco, a famous highwayman, and was himself slain by Ghino while sitting in the Papal audit office at Rome. For an amusing passage in Ghino's history, see Boccaccio, Decam. Day x. Nov. 2.

¹⁵ One of the Tarlati of Arezzo. It does not seem certain whether he was in the 'chase' as pursuer or pursued. One story makes him among the fugitives at Campaldino. (Land. says Montaperti, but there do not seem to have been any Aretines engaged there.) His name is given variously as Guccio, Ciacco, and Cione. Both he and the next named, Federigo, son of Guido Novello of Battifolle, met their death at the hands of the Bostoli, or Bartoli.—*annegò*. For this intransitive use of *annegare* and other words, see Corticelli, *Lingua Tosc.*, bk. ii. ch. 3, and cf. the similar idiom in English.

Pisa who made the good Marzucco show his fortitude. I saw Count Orso; and the spirit divided from its body through hate and envy, as he said, not for fault committed, Peter de la Brosse I mean; and here let the dame of Brabant take forethought while she is in this world, so that therefore she be not of a worser flock.

When I was free from all those shades, whose prayer was only that another pray, so that their sanctification may come quickly, I began: 'Methinks thou tellest me, O my

Che fe parer lo buon Marzucco forte.
 Vidi Cont' Orso, e l' anima divisa
 Dal corpo suo per astio e per invidia, 20
 Come dicea, non per colpa commisa:
 Pier dalla Broccia dico: e qui provveggia,
 Mentr' è di qua, la donna di Brabante,
 Sì che però non sia di peggior greggia.
 Come libero fui da tutte quante
 Quell' ombre, che pregar pur ch' altri preghi,
 Sì che s' avacci il lor divenir sante,
 Io cominciai: E' par che tu mi nieghi,

¹⁸ The one point on which all the Commentators agree is that the son of Marzucco de' Scornigiani, a gentleman of Pisa, was murdered. There is a difference of opinion as to whether it was in revenge or forgiveness that he showed his fortitude, but the weight of evidence is in favour of the latter interpretation. The person here mentioned is the son.

¹⁹ There is even greater uncertainty as to Count Orso. See Philalethes's note.

²² Peter de la Brosse, surgeon and afterwards chamberlain to Philip III. of France. He was hanged in 1276, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the king of Castile. Another story says that Mary of Brabant, Philip's second wife, accused him of attempting her chastity, in revenge for his having suspected her of poisoning the king's eldest son Louis. Both charges may have been brought, the latter being not uncommon in the Middle Ages, whenever a wife wished to ruin a husband's favourite.

light, expressly in a certain passage, that prayer bends not decree of Heaven, and these folk pray only for that. Would then their hope be vain, or is thy saying not rightly manifest to me?' And he to me: 'My scripture is plain, and the hope of these deceives not, if it is looked at well with sound judgement; since the high summit of justice is not veiled albeit the fire of love accomplishes in one moment that satisfaction which he owes who is lodged here; and in the case where I affirmed that point, a defect was not amended by praying, because the prayer was disjointed

O luce mia, espresso in alcun testo,
 Che decreto del Cielo orazion pieghi : 30
 E questa gente prega pur di questo.
 Sarebbe dunque loro speme vana?
 O non m' è il detto tuo ben manifesto?
 Ed egli a me: La mia scrittura è piana,
 E la speranza di costor non falla,
 Se ben si guarda con la mente sana:
 Chè cima di giudicio non s' avvala,
 Perchè fuoco d' amor compia in un punto
 Ciò, che dee soddisfar chi qui s' astalla: ^a
 E là dov' io fermai cotesto punto, 40
 Non si ammendava, per pregar, difetto,
 Perchè il prego da Dio era disgiunto.

^a *si stalla Gg.* (altered from *s' as.*) *W.*

²⁹ *Desine fata Deum flecti sperare precando.* Aen. vi. 376.

The reference to Virgil on a question of Christian doctrine is, as Professor Bartoli points out, somewhat curious. But it must be remembered that to Dante the Aeneid was a sacred book, though doubtless of less authority than the Bible, yet in the same class with it. A somewhat similar difficulty is discussed by Aquinas S.T. i. Q. 23. A. 8, where he decides that the purposes of God, though they cannot be impeded, can be furthered by the prayers of the saints.

from God. But in regard to so lofty a doubt, be not thou fixed, until she tell it thee, who will be a light betwixt the truth and the understanding. I know not if thou comprehend: I speak of Beatrice; thou wilt see her above, upon the summit of this mount, smiling in bliss.' And I: 'Master, go we with greater speed; for now I grow not wearied as before; and see how the slope begins now to cast its shadow.' 'We will go forward with this daylight,' he answered, 'as far as we shall yet be able, but the fact is of other fashion than thou sup-

Veramente a così alto sospetto
 Non ti fermar, se quella nol ti dice,
 Che lume fia tra il vero e l' intelletto :
 Non so se intendi : io dico di Beatrice :
 Tu la vedrai di sopra, in su la vetta
 Di questo monte, ridere felice.^b
 Ed io : Signore, andiamo a maggior fretta,^c
 Chè già non m' affatico come dianzi : 50
 E vedi omai che il poggio l' ombra getta.
 Noi anderem con questo giorno innanzi,
 Rispose, quanto più potremo omai :
 Ma il fatto è d' altra forma che non stanzi.

^b *ridere e Cass. 2 W.; rider e 1345; ridente e Ald. Land. Bi.*

^c *Buon Duca and. Ald. Bi.*

⁴³ **veramente**=Lat. *verum*, as in xxii. 28, and Conv. i. 2.

⁵¹ **omai**. See i. 2. This shows how the original meaning passes into the other. 'Henceforth the hill casts a shadow' is the same as 'the hill has now begun to cast, or already casts.'

⁵⁴ Dante thinks that they will be able to travel faster when the sun is off them, and will reach the summit soon; but Virgil explains that

posest. Before thou art up there, thou wilt see return him who already is being covered by the hillside, so that thou makest not his rays to break. But see there a soul which posted all alone is looking towards us; it will point out to us the quickest way.' We came to it. O Lombard soul, how wert thou standing haughty and disdainful! and in the movement of thine eyes dignified and slow. It was saying nothing to us, but was letting us go on, only looking in fashion of a lion when he reposes. Nevertheless,

Prima che sii lassù, tornar vedrai
 Colui che già si cuopre della costa
 Sì che i suoi raggi tu romper non fai.
 Ma vedi là un' anima, che posta
 Sola soletta verso noi riguarda :
 Quella ne insegnerà la via più tosta. 60
 Venimmo a lei : o anima Lombarda,
 Come ti stavi altera e disdegnosa,
 E nel muover degli occhi onesta e tarda.
 Ella non ci diceva alcuna cosa :
 Ma lasciavane gir, solo guardando ^d
 A guisa di leon quando si posa.

^d *sol riguard. Gg.*

they have farther to go than can be accomplished in one night's journey. There is no question here of inability to go by night. As appears from vii. 50, Virgil is not yet himself aware that any such difficulty exists.

⁵⁷ There is no other instance in Dante of **rompere** intrans., except in Conv. iv. 28, where it has the technical meaning of 'to be wrecked.' At the same time there is still greater difficulty about understanding **fai** as *puoi* or even as a mere auxiliary verb. One is tempted to wonder whether *fare* ever got mixed up with Goth. *fahan*, Germ. *fahen* (*fangen*), whence *fähig*. W. gives a variant *sai*, but no authority for it.

⁶³ **onesta e tarda.** Cf. iii. 10, 11.

Virgil drew near to it, praying that it would show us the best ascent; and it answered not to his demand, but inquired of us about our country and our life. And the gentle Leader began: 'Mantua' And the shade all hermit-like in itself sprang toward him from the place where before it was standing, saying: 'O Mantuan, I am Sordello of thy land.' And the one embraced the other. Ah Italy! thou slave, hostel of woe, ship without

Pur Virgilio si trasse a lei, pregando,
 Che ne mostrasse la miglior salita :
 E quella non rispose al suo dimando :
 Ma di nostro paese e della vita 70
 C' inchiese. E il dolce Duca incominciava :
 Mantova . . . E l' ombra tutta in sè romita,
 Surse ver lui del luogo, ove pria stava,
 Dicendo : O Mantovano, io son Sordello
 Della tua terra. E l' un l' altro abbracciava.
 Ahi serva Italia, di dolore ostello,

⁷² **tutta in sè romita.** The words are almost untranslatable, from their exceeding compression. Philaethes perhaps succeeds best with his 'ganz in sich vertieft'; but this hardly gives the force of **romita**.

⁷⁴ Sordello—soldier, statesman, and poet—was born early in the thirteenth century, and was living in 1266, as appears from a letter of Pope Clement IV. to Charles of Anjou, dated in that year. Dante mentions him, *De Vulg. Eloq.* i. 15; but only as an instance of a person who had abandoned his native dialect in writing and speaking. Villani does not mention him. The chief evidence for his having been *podestà* of Mantua seems to be his position here in company with men who were all rulers; on the other hand, these officers were almost, if not quite invariably, chosen from the citizens of another state than that which they ruled. All that is known with any certainty about Sordello may be found in Fauriel, vol. i. p. 504 sq.

⁷⁵ Observe that though Dante cannot embrace a shade, one shade can sometimes embrace another; though even this is not always allowed. See xxi. 135, 136.

pilot in a great tempest, not lady of provinces, but brothel! That noble soul was thus ready, only for the sweet sound of its own country, to make joyous greeting for its fellow-citizen here; and now in thee thy living men stay not without war, and one gnaws the other of those whom one wall enlocks and one moat. Search, wretch, thy sea-coasts all about the shores, and then look into thy heart, if any part in thee enjoys peace. What boots it that Justinian should have put thy bit in order again, if the saddle is empty? Without that were the shame less.

Nave senza nocchiero in gran tempesta,
 Non donna di provincie, ma bordello;
 Quell' anima gentil fu così presta,
 Sol per lo dolce suon della sua terra,^e 80
 Di fare al cittadin suo quivi festa:
 Ed ora in te non stanno senza guerra
 Li vivi tuoi, e l' un l' altro si rode
 Di quei, che un muro ed una fossa serra.
 Cerca, misera, intorno dalle prode
 Le tue marine, e poi ti guarda in seno,
 S' alcuna parte in te di pace gode.
 Che val, perchè ti racconciasse il freno
 Giustiniano, se la sella è vota?
 Senz' esso fora la vergogna meno. 90

^e *per quel Gg.*

⁷⁷ In Conv. iv. 4, Dante works out at some length the image of ship and pilot as appropriate to the relations of the state and the emperor.

⁷⁸ Cf. Isaiah xlvii. 5.

⁸¹ *feſta*. So in xxvi. 33.

⁸⁸ *freno*; so xvi. 94. The whole passage may be compared with this.

⁸⁹ For Justinian, see Par. vi.

Ah folk that ought to have been at prayer and to let Caesar sit in the saddle, if ye understand well that sign which God is giving to you, look how this beast has become fell, through not being corrected with the spurs, since ye have placed your hands to the headstall. O German Albert, who abandonest her that is become untamed and savage, and oughtest to have bestridden her saddlebows, may a just judgement fall from the stars upon thy blood, and may it be strange and evident, such that thy successor may have

Ahi gente, che dovresti esser devota,
 E lasciar seder Cesare in la sella,
 Se bene intendi ciò che Dio ti nota,
 Guarda com' esta fiera è fatta fella,
 Per non esser corretta dagli sproni,
 Poi che ponesti mano alla predella.
 O Alberto Tedesco, che abbandoni
 Costei ch' è fatta indomita e selvaggia,
 E dovresti inforcar li suoi arcioni :
 Giusto giudicio dalle stelle caggia 100
 Sovra il tuo sangue, e sia nuovo ed aperto,
 Tal che il tuo successor temenza n' aggia :

⁹¹ **gente**; the clergy.

⁹³ 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's.'

⁹⁶ **predella** (or as some MSS. read, *bridella*), 'è quella parte della briglia che si tiene in mano' (Landino). 'Quella parte della briglia che si gira alla guancia del cavallo presso il morso' (note in the Milan edition of Villani ix. 241). Though no doubt the same word as our *bridle*, it thus has not quite the same meaning. Lombardi takes it in the modern sense of 'a footstool,' as if a mounting-block, which seems unnecessary and weak. For the whole comparison of Italy to a riderless horse, cf. Conv. iv. 9.

⁹⁷ Albert I. of Hapsburg, emperor (but never crowned) from 1298-1308, in which year he was assassinated by his nephew (Vill. viii. 94). This took place almost within sight of the castle of Hapsburg.

fear of it; for ye have, thou and thy father, suffered—through covetousness being drawn away from hence—that the garden of the empire should lie desert. Come and see Montagues and Capulets, Monaldi and Filippeschi, thou careless man, those already grieving, these in suspicion. Come, cruel, come, and behold the hard case of thy nobles, and heal their blemishes, and thou wilt see in what

Chè avete tu e il tuo padre sofferto,
 Per cupidigia di costà distretti,
 Che il giardin dell' imperio sia deserto.
 Vieni a veder Montecchi e Cappelletti,
 Monaldi e Filippeschi, uom senza cura,
 Color già tristi e costor con sospetti.
 Vien, crudel, vieni, e vedi la pressura
 Dei tuoi gentili, e cura lor magagne, 110

¹⁰⁶ An English translator is bound to keep the somewhat arbitrary forms under which Shakespeare has immortalised **Montecchi** (called also Monticoli) and **Cappelletti**. The former seem to have been favoured by Eccelino, and to have been the leaders of the Veronese Ghibelines in the first half of the thirteenth century. They are now **tristi** as being in banishment.

¹⁰⁷ **Monaldi** and **Filippeschi** were the leaders respectively of the Guefts and the Ghibelines at Orvieto. The two factions seem to have gone on quarrelling, but neither able to get wholly rid of the other. In April 1312 the Filippeschi, emboldened by the proximity of Henry VII., attacked their rivals, but got the worst of it (Villani ix. 40); and in the following year were finally banished (Ceccarelli, *Storia di Casa Monaldesca*). In 1337 the tyranny of the Monaldeschi led to their own expulsion.

¹⁰⁸ **con sospetti**. Looking to Villani's use (vii. 13) of *non sospetti* this may mean specifically 'in dread of banishment.' Ceccarelli, *op. cit.*, uses the term of the Monaldeschi. They were defending the city against Salinguerra about 1245, 'e con sospetto per essere dentro anco i Filippeschi.'

¹¹⁰ **gentili**; i.e. the Ghibeline families. See Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 263 (4th ed.)

wise Santafore is at ease. Come to see thy Rome who weeps, widowed, alone, and day and night cries out: 'My Caesar, wherefore art thou not my companion?' Come to see how much the folk love one another; and if no pity for us moves thee, come to shame thyself for thy own renown. And if it is allowed me, O highest Jove, who upon earth wast crucified for us, are thy just eyes turned other-whither? Or is it preparation, which in the abyss of thy counsel thou makest for some good, wholly

E vedrai Santafor, com' è sicura.
 Vieni a veder la tua Roma che piagne,
 Vedova, sola, e dì e notte chiama:
 Cesare mio, perchè non m' accompagni?
 Vieni a veder la gente, quanto s' ama:
 E se nulla di noi pietà ti muove,
 A vergognar ti vien della tua fama.
 E se licito m' è, o sommo Giove,
 Che fosti in terra per noi crocifisso,
 Son li giusti occhi tuoi rivolti altrove? 120
 O è preparazion, che nell' abisso
 Del tuo consiglio fai per alcun bene;

¹¹¹ **Santafore**, a county in the territory of Siena, formerly an imperial fief, now in the hands of the Guelfs of the city. Villani mentions the counts more than once among the leading Ghibelines of Tuscany. From 1300 to 1302 Count Guido of Santafore held Radicofani against repeated attempts at its capture on the part of the Monaldeschi and Guelfs of Orvieto (Ceccarelli, *op. cit.*) May not there be an allusion to this here? There is another reading, *come sicura*; but the irony of *com' è sicura* is quite in Dante's manner, cf. line 115.

¹¹⁸ Philalethes suggests, what is probably true, that Dante imagined Jehovah and Jove to be the same word. Otherwise he would hardly have used the name of one of the 'dei falsi e bugiardi' in such a collocation.

cut off from our observation? For the lands of Italy are all full of tyrants, and every churl that comes partisaning it becomes a Marcellus. My Florence, well mayst thou be satisfied with this digression that touches thee not, thanks to thy people that is so full of reason. Many have justice in heart, but it shoots forth too late, through not coming to the bow without counsel; but thy people has it on the outermost lips. Many refuse the burden of

In tutto dall' accorger nostro ascisso?
 Chè le terre d' Italia tutte piene
 Son di tiranni; ed un Marcel diventa^f
 Ogni villan che parteggiando viene.
 Fiorenza mia, ben puoi esser contenta
 Di questa digression che non ti tocca
 Mercè del popol tuo, che sì argomenta.
 Molti han giustizîa in cuor, ma tardi scocca, 130
 Per non venir senza consiglio all' arco:
 Ma il popol tuo l' ha in sommo della bocca.
 Molti rifiutan lo comune incarco:

^f *un Metel Gg.*

¹²⁵ A Marcellus was consul in each of the years A.U.C. 703, 704, and 705, and they were all opponents of Caesar. The one more particularly in Dante's mind was probably the first of these, M. Claudius Marcellus, the *Marcellus loquax* of Lucan, who was the most bitter in his opposition. See the letters of Caelius to Cicero during 703 and 704. It is curious, as showing how the conception of the empire was changed, to observe that Dante likens the man of low birth who gets a reputation by attacking the nobles, to the very men who defended the nobles in former times against the democratic party and Caesar. The reading *Metel* is explained by ix. 138.

¹²⁹ Landino, Blanc, Fraticelli read *s' argomenta* 'takes thought,' as in xxv. 15. I think the *sl* is wanted; and there is probably a play on two meanings of the word, which the English 'reason' partly conveys.

the commonweal; but thy people answers eagerly without call, and cries: 'I charge myself.' Now make thyself happy, for thou hast surely wherefore: thou who art rich, at peace, thou [filled] with wisdom. If I say true, the result conceals it not. Athens and Lacedaemon, that framed the ancient laws, and were so civilised, made in regard to living well a small mark compared with thee, who makest such subtle provisions, that to mid-November reaches not what thou in October dost spin. How often in the time that thou rememberest hast thou changed law,

Ma il popol tuo sollecito risponde
 Senza chiamare, e grida: Io mi sobbarco.
 Or ti fa lieta, chè tu hai ben onde:
 Tu ricca, tu con pace, tu con senno.
 S' io dico ver, l' effetto nol nasconde.
 Atene e Lacedemona, che fenno
 Le antiche leggi, e furon sì civili, 140
 Fecero al viver bene un picciol cenno,
 Verso di te, che fai tanto sottili
 Proveddimenti, ch' a mezzo Novembre
 Non giunge quel che tu d' Ottobre fili.
 Quante volte del tempo, che rimembre,

¹³⁵ **sobbarco**=to gird up the garments for work (Bianchi).

^{139, 140} Villani (xii. 19) quotes these lines as appropriate to the state of the city in 1343; and *ib.* 97 the three following with reference to the change of coinage in 1347. Philalethes gives, in a note, a short account of the changes in Florentine parties during the thirteenth century, and adds, with some naïveté, 'Freilich, was ist dieses, gegen die Umwälzungen und Verfassungsveränderungen von 1789-1851?' No better justification of Dante's words is needed than may be found in Villani *passim*, and Macchiavelli Hist. Flor. bk. ii.

¹⁴² **sottili**; 'subtle' or 'slender.'

money, and offices, and customs, and renewed thy members? And if thou rightly call thyself to mind, and see light, thou wilt behold thyself in semblance of that sick one, who cannot find repose upon the feathers, but with turning over keeps off her pain.

Legge, moneta, e ufici, e costume
Hai tu mutato, e rinnovato membre?
E se ben ti ricorda, e vedi lume,
Vedrai te simigliante a quella inferma,
Che non può trovar posa in su le piume, 150
Ma con dar volta suo dolore scherma.

¹⁴⁷ **mutato.** The rule of the agreement of participles is not invariable in early Italian.

CANTO VII

ARGUMENT

Virgil makes himself and his condition known to Sordello, who leads them to a little valley on the mountain-side, where they find many kings and princes such as had, through the cares of this world, put off repentance. Among them are Rudolf the Emperor, Charles of Anjou, king of Apulia, Peter king of Aragon, Henry king of England, and Philip king of France.

AFTER that their greetings, dignified and blithe, had been repeated thrice and four times, Sordello drew back, and said: 'Who are ye?' 'Before that the souls worthy to ascend to God were turned toward this mount were my bones buried by Octavian. I am Virgil, and for no other crime did I lose Heaven than for not having faith,' thus answered then my Leader. As he who sees on a sudden a

POSCIACHÈ l' accoglienze oneste e liete
Furo iterate tre e quattro volte,
Sordel si trasse, e disse: Voi chi siete?
Prima ch' a questo monte fosser volte
L' anime degne di salire a Dio,
Fur l' ossa mie per Ottavian sepolte:
Io son Virgilio: e per null' altro rio
Lo Ciel perdei, che per non aver fè;
Così rispose allora il Duca mio.
Qual è colui, che cosa innanzi a sè

thing before him, whereof he so wonders that he believes and doubts, saying: 'It is, it is not'; such appeared he, and then he lowered his eyelids, and humbly turned again toward the other, and embraced him where the inferior takes hold. 'O glory of the Latins,' said he, 'through whom our tongue showed what its power was; O eternal treasure of the place whence I sprang, what desert or what favour shows thee to me? If I am worthy to hear thy words, tell me if thou comest from Hell, and from what ward.' 'Through all the circles of the realm of woe,'

Subita vede, ond' ei sì maraviglia
 Che crede e no, dicendo: Ell' è, non è,
 Tal parve quegli: e poi chinò le ciglia,
 Ed umilmente ritornò ver lui,
 Ed abbracciollo ove il minor s' appiglia.^a
 O gloria dei Latin, disse, per cui
 Mostrò ciò che potea la lingua nostra:
 O pregio eterno del loco, ond' io fui:
 Qual merito o qual grazia mi ti mostra?
 S' io son d' udir le tue parole degno;
 Dimmi se vien d' Inferno, e di qual chiostra?
 Per tutti i cerchi del dolente regno,

20

^a *abbracciol là ove Gg.; abbraccio là dove Cass.;
 'l nutrir Gg. (marg.) Ald. etc.*

¹¹ I venture to read **ond' ei sì maraviglia**, instead of the usual *si*, as it seems to make the sense run more smoothly.

¹⁵ **ove il minor s' appiglia**. Usually taken to mean the knees; but Land. 'sotto le braccia.' Others, *ove 'l nutrir*, i.e. the navel, hence, the waist.

²¹ **chiostra**; so Inf. xxix. 40.

he answered him, 'am I come to this side ; virtue from Heaven sent me forth, and with it I come. Not for doing, but for not doing, have I lost the sight of the Sun on high whom thou desirest, and who was too late known by me. There is a place below, not sad with torments, but with gloom only, where the lamentations sound not as wails but are sighs. There stay I, with the little innocents bitten by the teeth of death, before that they were freed from human sin. There stay I, with those who were not clad with the three holy virtues, but faultless knew the others, and followed every one. But if thou knowest and canst, give us some

Rispose lui, son io di qua venuto :
 Virtù del Ciel mi mosse, e con lei vegno.
 Non per far, ma per non fare ho perduto
 Di veder l' alto Sol ch'è tu disiri,
 E che fu tardi da me conosciuto.
 Luogo è laggiù non tristo da martiri,
 Ma di tenebre solo, ove i lamenti
 Non suonan come guai, ma son sospiri. 30
 Quivi sto io coi parvoli innocenti,^b
 Dai denti morsi della morte, avante
 Che fosser dell' umana colpa esenti.
 Quivi sto io con quei che le tre sante
 Virtù non si vestiro, e senza vizio
 Conobber l' altre, e seguir tutte quante.
 Ma se tu sai e puoi, alcun indizio

^b *pargoli Gg.*

³¹ This shows that it is *limbus puerorum* in which the virtuous heathen are. See Inf. iv. 32.

³⁴ The theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity ; l' *altre* in line 36 being the moral virtues of temperance, justice, fortitude, and prudence. Notice the Latin construction of *virtù si vestiro*.

direction, whereby we may come more quickly to the place where Purgatory has its right beginning.' He answered : ' A certain place is not assigned to us : it is permitted me to go upward and around : as far as I can go, I put myself at thy side as guide. But see already how the day declines, and to go upward in the night is not possible ; therefore it is good to think about a fair sojourn. There are spirits to the right here, apart, if thou give me thy consent, I will lead thee to them, and not without delight will they become known to thee.' ' How is that ? ' was the reply ; ' he who would mount at night, would he be hindered of any ? or

Dà noi, perchè venir possiam più tosto

Là dove il Purgatorio ha dritto inizio.

Rispose : Luogo certo non c' è posto : 40

Licito m' è andar suso ed intorno :

Per quanto ir posso, a guida mi t' accosto :

Ma vedi già come dichina il giorno,

Ed andar su di notte non si puote :

Però è buon pensar di bel soggiorno.

Anime sono a destra qua remote :

Se il mi consenti, io ti merrò ad esse,^c

E non senza diletto ti fien note.

Com' è ciò ? fu risposto : chi volesse

Salir di notte, fora egli impedito 50

D' altrui ? o pur saria che non potesse ?^d

^c *Se mi Cass. Gg. Ald. Land. ; menerotti Bi.*

^d *ovver saria Gg. ; o non sarria Cass. Ald. (1) ; o pur sarria Ald. (2).*

⁴⁰ Cf. Aeneid vi. 673.

⁵¹ The readings of this line, as may be seen by reference to Dr. Moore's Textual Criticism, are very various, but they may be grouped into two main classes, according as *sarria* (= *saliria*) or *saria* is read.

would it be only that he could not?' And the good Sordello rubbed his finger on the ground, saying: 'See, only this line thou wouldst not overstep after the sun was set; not, however, that anything, other than the gloom of night, would give hindrance to going upward; that with impotency hampers the will. Well were it possible with it to turn downward, and pass over the hillside wandering about, while that the horizon holds the day closed.' Then my Master, as though wondering, said: 'Lead us then to the

E il buon Sordello in terra fregò il dito,
 Dicendo: Vedi, sola questa riga
 Non varcheresti dopo il Sol partito:
 Non però che altra cosa desse briga,
 Che la notturna tenebra, ad ir suso:
 Quella col non poter la voglia intriga.
 Ben si poria con lei tornare in giuso,
 E passeggiar la costa intorno errando,
 Mentre che l'orizzonte il dì tien chiuso. 60
 Allora il mio Signor, quasi ammirando,
 Menane, disse, dunque là 've dici

Naturally *non* goes with the first, so that the cases, which are many, of *non saria* would seem to belong to the former class. This has no doubt the great weight of authority; but the other gives so far more vigorous and natural a turn to the question that I cannot but believe it to be the right reading. Moreover, if *che* = 'because' (as, if *non sarria* be read, it does) we ought surely to have *potrebbe*. The subjunctive seems to demand *che* = 'that.'

⁵² It may be remarked that though the shades are too unsubstantial to be grasped by mortal arms, yet Sordello can mark the ground with his finger.

⁵⁷ Cf. v. 66. The meaning of the passage generally is, as Philaethes points out, that without God's grace man cannot make any progress towards good, while his own power suffices to enable him to fall into error.

place where thou sayest that one may have delight in tarrying.'

A little distance had we gone away from that place, when I was aware that the mountain was cut away in fashion as the valleys cut them away here. 'Yonder,' said that shade, 'will we take our way, where the hillside makes of itself a bosom, and there will we await the new day.' Part steep, part level, was a winding path, which led us into a side of the hollow, there where the rim dies more

Che aver si può diletto dimorando.
 Poco allungati c' eravam di lici,
 Quand' io m' accorsi che il monte era scemo,
 A guisa che i vallon li sceman quici.^e
 Colà, disse quell' ombra, n' anderemo,
 Dove la costà face di sè grembo,
 E quivi il nuovo giorno attenderemo.
 Tra erto e piano era un sentiere sghembo, 70
 Che ne condusse in fianco della lacca,
 Là ove più che a mezzo muore il lembo.

^e *valloni Ald. Land. Bi.; ? vallon si.*

⁶⁵ **era scemo.** 'Cioe aveva concavita.' Buti.

^{67, 69} While Sordello speaks of the place as *to be gone to*, it is **colà**; when he is saying what is to be done there, it is **quivi**.

⁷⁰ **tra erto e piano.** I am inclined to think with Landino and Bianchi that these words refer not to the position but to the nature of the path. Cf. such expressions as 'centocinquanta migliaia di persone tra uccisono e menarono'; 'avea armate centoventi tra galee e altri legni.' Villani. Cf. xxiv. 13.

⁷² **muore.** It will be noticed that Dante generally uses the present tense in describing the physical features of Purgatory; a natural touch which perhaps more than anything else gives an effect of reality to his descriptions.

than half away. Gold and fine silver, cochineal and white lead, the Indian wood lucid and serene, fresh emerald in the hour when it is flaked, each would be vanquished in colour by the grass and by the flowers placed within that lap, as by its greater is vanquished the less. Nature had not only painted there, but with a sweetness of a thousand odours.

Oro ed argento fino, cocco e biacca,
 Indico legno lucido e sereno,^f
 Fresco smeraldo in l' ora che si fiacca,
 Dall' erba e dalli fior dentro a quel seno
 Posti, ciascun saria di color vinto,
 Come dal suo maggiore è vinto il meno.
 Non avea pur natura ivi dipinto,
 Ma di soavità di mille odori

80

^f *lucido sereno* Cass. Gg. 14.

73, 74, 75 It will be noticed that these represent the colours with which the illuminators of books would chiefly work. There is much difficulty about **indico legno**. A blue is clearly wanted, but it seems doubtful whether the words can mean *indigo*. Many commentators understand *ebony*, and Blanc compares Georg. ii. 116; but the epithets do not seem appropriate; nor is a black substance in place here. In French, down to the sixteenth century, *inde* seems to have been used to denote a violet colour. The modern *bois d'Inde* is Campeachy wood, which gives a red dye. It may be observed that *lucidi sereni* is used by Boccaccio more than once (i. 10, v. 6) in the sense of 'clear skies,' especially at evening; perhaps by a false derivation from *sera*. Possibly this meaning, which is also found in Latin (e.g. Georg. i. 393), may have been sufficiently common to allow Dante to denote by it, as Benvenuto says, 'pulcer color aeris puri sereni'; in which case the **indico legno** might still be indigo, and the general idea would be that metals, pigments, animal vegetable or mineral, precious stones, and even the blue of the sky itself, were inadequate to represent the brilliant colouring of this 'Valley of Princes.' It is not necessary to hold with Mr. Ruskin that *smeraldo* is 'emerald green'; the uncut (*fresco*) emerald is not bright, and it is not until the stone is split or flaked that the full colour is seen. [Since this note was written I find that Mr. Parsons, an American translator has taken the same view as to *lucidi sereni*.]

made there one, unrecognised, and undistinguished. There I saw souls sit singing *Salve Regina* on the green and on the flowers, who by reason of the valley did not appear outside. 'Before the little sun that remains sets,' began the Mantuan, who had turned us back, 'desire not that I should guide you among them. From this ledge better will you observe the acts and countenances of each and all, than when received among them in the hollow below. He who sits highest, and has the semblance of having neglected that which he ought to have done, and who moves not his mouth to the others' chants, was Rudolf the emperor, who had the power to

Vi faceva un incognito e indistinto.
Salve Regina, in sul verde e in sui fiori
 Quindi seder cantando anime vidi,
 Che per la valle non parean di fuori.
 Prima che il poco sole omai s' annidi,
 Cominciò il Mantovan che ci avea volti,
 Tra color non vogliate ch' io vi guidi.
 Da questo balzo meglio gli atti e i volti
 Conoscerete voi di tutti quanti,
 Che nella lama giù tra essi accolti.
 Colui che più sied' alto, ed ha sembianti
 D' aver negletto ciò che far dovea,
 E che non muove bocca agli altrui canti,
 Ridolfo Imperador fu, che potea

90

⁸¹ **indistinto**: 'not to be separated into its component parts.' It is a technical word of the Schoolmen. S. T. Suppl. Q. 93. A. 3: Videmus quod quando conveniunt duo corpora in unum, destruitur esse distinctum utriusque, et acquiritur utrique simul unum esse indistinctum.

⁸² **Salve Regina** is one of the Compline Antiphons.

⁸³ The shades of kings and other rulers who had deferred their repentance, owing to the pressure of temporal interests.

⁸⁴ Rudolf, Count of Hapsburg in the valley of the Aar, elected

heal the wounds which have slain Italy, so that too late she is seeking cure through another. The other, who in his visage is comforting him, ruled the land where the water takes its rise that Moldau into Elbe, and Elbe bears away into sea. Ottocar had he to name, and in his swaddling-clothes was better far than Wenceslas his son a bearded man, whom luxury

Sanar le piaghe ch' hanno Italia morta,
 Sì che tardi per altri si ricrea.
 L' altro, che nella vista lui conforta,
 Resse la terra dove l' acqua nasce,
 Che Molta in Albia, e Albia in mar ne porta.⁸
 Ottachero ebbe nome, e nelle fasce 100
 Fu meglio assai, che Vincislao suo figlio
 Barbuto, cui lussuria ed ozio pasce.

⁸ *muta Gg. ; monta 3 Ald. Land.*

Emperor in 1273, died 1292. By investing his son Albert with the fief of Austria, he laid the foundation of the fortune of the Hapsburg family.

^{94, 95} 'Se avesse voluto passare in Italia senza contrasto n'era signore.' Villani vii. 55. Paulus Aemilius Veronensis, writing towards the end of the next century, says: 'Mortuo Ricardo Anglo Germani proceres Caesarem delegerunt Rodolfum comitem Aspurgensem. xviii imperavit annos, nunquam Italiam ingressus, semper novas occupationes publice caussatus; sed apud amicos non dissimulatus se ab Italia deterreri quod Caesarum in Italiam vestigia laeta magnifica pleneque bonae spei videret; ex Italia vero referentia et foras versa, tristia misera luctuosa.'

⁹⁶ *altri* is rare in oblique cases; so *quei* in iii. 120. See Diez ii. 74; 75, 82. He is not quite consistent with himself. Henry VII. of Luxemburg is the person meant. *tardi si ricrea*. Cf. Inf. xvi. 54.

⁹⁷ Ottocar, king of Bohemia, killed in battle against Rudolf 1277 (Vill. vii. 55). *nella vista*, etc. Cf. i. 79.

¹⁰¹ Wenceslas died in 1305. Villani (ix. 1), apparently ignoring three intervening kings, makes his reign last till the accession of his son-in-law. Cf. Par. xix. 125. His daughter married John, son of the emperor Henry VII., who became king of Bohemia and was killed at Crecy.

and ease feed. And that small-nosed man, who appears close in counsel with him who has so benign a mien, died flying and deflowering the lily; look there, how he beats his breast. The other ye see how he has made of his palm, sighing, a bed for his cheek. Father and father-in-law are they of the woe of France; they know his corrupt and filthy life, and hence comes the grief that so pierces them. He who appears so large-limbed, and keeps time in his

E quel nasetto, che stretto a consiglio^h

Par con colui c' ha sì benigno aspetto,

Morì fuggendo e disfiando il giglio :

Guardate là, come si batte il petto.

L' altro vedete c' ha fatto alla guancia

Della sua palma, sospirando, letto.

Padre e suocero son del mal di Francia :

Sanno la vita sua viziata e lorda,

110

E quindi viene il duol, che sì gli lancia.

Quel che par sì membruto, e che s' accorda

^h *nasuto W. [but he translates 'stumpf Benas'te.']*

¹⁰⁸ Philip III. of France died at Perpignan, Oct. 6, 1285, after a disastrous retreat from Gerona. He had captured the town, but his fleet was immediately afterwards destroyed in the Gulf of Rosas, by Roger di Loria, admiral of Peter of Aragon, and his supplies being cut off, he was compelled to retire. Witte says that his short nose may still be observed in his effigy at Narbonne.

¹⁰⁹ *colui.* Henry III. of Navarre, whose daughter married Philip the Fair, son of Philip III., and the *mal di Francia*. Cf. l. 109.

¹¹² Peter III., king of Aragon, and in the later years of his life—after the expulsion of the French at the 'Sicilian Vespers'—of Sicily, and son-in-law to Manfred, died Nov. 8, 1285, of a wound received in a skirmish with the French before Gerona. Villani (vii. 103) says of him: 'Fu valente signore e pro' in arme e bene avventuroso e savio come nullo re che regnasse al suo tempo.' This notwithstanding the rather discreditable trick played on Charles of Anjou, which practically gave him Sicily.

chanting with him of the manly nose, wore girt on him the cord of every worth. And if the youth who sits behind him had remained king after him, well had the worth gone from vessel to vessel; which cannot be said of the other heirs. James and Frederick have the kingdoms: of the

Cantando con colui dal maschio naso,
D' ogni valor portò cinta la corda :
E se re dopo lui fosse rimasto
Lo giovinetto che retro a lui siede,
Bene andava il valor di vaso in vaso :
Che non si puote dir dell' altre rede :
Jacomo e Federico hanno i reami :

¹¹³ Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, king of Sicily and Apulia, was the greatest champion whom the Guelf cause ever had. By his defeats of Manfred (1265) and Conradin (1269), the power of the Hohenstaufen was brought to an end in Italy. He died Jan. 7, 1284. The first ninety-five chapters of Villani's seventh book are occupied almost entirely with his doings. His character and person are sketched in the first chapter, and the historian does not omit to mention his large nose. He would seem to have been a man of high principles, and sincerely religious, but lacking the sweetness of temper which, except when a heretic was in question, distinguished his brother.

¹¹⁶ Probably Alfonso, eldest son of Peter, who succeeded his father in the kingdom of Aragon, but died after a reign of a few years only.

¹¹⁸ Notice *rede* fem. This is not unusual in the Romance languages. Cf. *guida*, and Sp. *guia*, *centinela*. So Fr. *sentinelle*, *bête*, even when a male is referred to.

¹¹⁹ James, second son of Peter, succeeded at his father's death to the throne of Sicily. On his elder brother's death, in 1295, he went to Aragon, leaving Sicily under the control of his brother Frederick, thus defrauding Charles II. (of Apulia), to whom he had promised to resign it. Later, James and Charles joined against Frederick, and defeated him in a sea-fight, July 4, 1299; but he continued to hold Sicily, and showed himself in 1302 more than a match for Charles of Valois. Dante apostrophises Charles of Apulia and Frederick in Conv. iv. 6; and alludes to them with some bitterness, Par. xx. 61. But see iii. 116.

better heritage no one has possession. Seldom rises human goodness through the branches; and this wills He who gives it in order that from Him it may be claimed. To the large-nosed man come my words, not less than to the other, Peter, who sings with him; whence Apulia and Provence already grieve. The plant is so much better than its seed, as, more than Beatrice and Margaret, Constance still boasts

Del retaggio miglior nessun possiede. 120
 Rade volte risurge per li rami
 L' umana probitate: e questo vuole
 Quei che la dà, perchè da lui si chiami.
 Anco al nasuto vanno mie parole
 Non men, ch' all' altro, Pier, che con lui canta:
 Onde Puglia e Provenza già si duole.
 Tant' è del seme suo miglior la pianta,
 Quanto più che Beatrice e Margherita,
 Gostanza di marito ancor si vanta.

¹²¹ Cf. *Odyssey*, ii. 276; and *Par.* viii. 122-135. Chaucer's paraphrase (*Wife of Bath's Tale*, l. 6719 sqq.) is well known:

Ful selde upriseth by his branches smale
 Prowess of man, for God of his goodnesse
 Wol that we claim of him our gentillesse.

Machiavelli, *Discorsi*, i. 11, quotes the lines to enforce the importance of good institutions in a state.

¹²³ Others take *chiami* as = *call* or *name*; 'that from him it may take its name.' The point is, that whereas physical qualities are received from the parent, those of the mind or soul come directly from God. Cf. xxv. 70 sqq.

¹²⁶ Charles II., son of Charles of Anjou (*il Nasuto*), king of Apulia and count of Provence, died May 3, 1308. 'Uno de' [? più] larghi e graziosi signori che al suo tempo visse, e fu chiamato il secondo Alessandro per la cortesia; ma per altre virtù fu di poco valore,' says Villani viii. 108; and cf. *Par.* xix. 127.

^{128, 129} Beatrice and Margaret, daughters of Raimond Berenger, count

of her husband. See the king of the simple life sitting there alone—Henry of England; he has in his branches better issue. He who lower down sits on the ground among those, looking upward, is William the marquis, for

Vedete il re della semplice vita 130
 Seder là solo, Arrigo d' Inghilterra.
 Questi ha nei rami suoi migliore uscita.ⁱ
 Quel che più basso tra costor s' atterra,
 Guardando insuso, è Guglielmo Marchese,

ⁱ *reami Cass. Gg. 134.*

of Provence, were wives to Charles of Anjou and Louis IX.; and Constance, daughter of Manfred, was, as has been said, wife to Peter. It may seem strange that Dante should so depreciate St. Louis; but probably his dislike to the royal house of France extended itself to its head; and the fact that Louis was canonised by Boniface VIII. would not be a recommendation. At any rate, it is curious that that great king is nowhere mentioned throughout the poem. The meaning is, Charles's son is as much inferior to him as Charles and Louis to Peter. Another view is that the Margaret referred to is Charles's second wife, daughter of Eudes, duke of Burgundy. Note in Gg. says: '*Istae duae erant nurus dominae Constantiae uxores d. Jacopi et d. Frederici*'; and Land. and Vell. say that Beatrice was wife to Frederick, Margaret to James. This, however, does not appear to agree with the facts; as the wives of those princes (daughters of Charles II.) were named respectively Eleanor and Blanche.

¹³¹ Henry III. He sits apart probably as having no territorial connexion with the empire. Villani (v. 4) sums up his character shortly: '*Fu semplice uomo e di buona fè, e di poco valore*'; and elsewhere: '*Fu uomo di semplice vita.*' He agrees also with Dante in his opinion of Edward I.: '*Il buono rè Adoardo, uno de' più valorosi signori al suo tempo*' (viii. 90). So again Fazio, Dittamondo iv. 25, after calling Henry

Bello del corpo e misero del core,
 proceeds—
 da lui nacque lo buon Odoardo,
 Del cui valor nel mondo è fama adesso.

¹³⁴ William, marquis of Montferrat, and the Canavese (the district

whose sake Alessandria and her war makes Monferrato and the Canavese weep.

Per cui Alessandria e la sua guerra
Fa pianger Monferrato e il Canavese.

enclosed between the two Doras and the Po), was captured and imprisoned by the men of Alessandria. He died 1292, and his sons, to avenge him, went to war. Dante commemorates him (Conv. iv. 6) among men renowned for generosity.

CANTO VIII

ARGUMENT

First sunset. The souls pray together, and two angels come to guard them. The poets descend among them, and meet Nino de' Visconti and Conrad Malaspina. A serpent comes, and is put to flight by the angels. Then the author and his friends converse far into the night.

It was already the hour which turns backward their longing in seafarers, and makes tender their heart, the day that they have said farewell to their sweet friends ; and which pricks the new pilgrim with love, if he hears a bell from afar seeming to mourn the day that is dying ; when I began to render vain my hearing, and to gaze on one of the souls

ERA già l' ora che volge il disio
Ai naviganti, e intenerisce il cuore
Lo dì ch' han detto ai dolci amici addio :
E che lo nuovo peregrin d' amore
Punge, se ode squilla di lontano,
Che paia il giorno pianger che si muore,
Quand' io incominciai a render vano
L' udire, ed a mirare una dell' alme

⁵ *se ode.* For the hiatus, cf. iv. 2, Par. xxvi. 34.

⁷ I.e. I listened no more to Sordello.

which, risen up, was with its hand craving attention. It joined and lifted both its palms, fixing its eyes toward the East, as it were saying to God: 'Aught else I heed not.' *Te lucis ante* so devoutly issued from its mouth, and with such sweet notes, that it made me issue from my own thought. And the others then sweetly and devoutly followed it throughout the entire hymn, having their eyes on the supernal wheels. Sharpen here, reader, well thy eyes to the truth, for the veil is now indeed of a surety so fine that to pass within is easy.

Surta, che l' ascoltar chiedea con mano.
 Ella giunse e levò ambo le palme, 10
 Ficcando gli occhi verso l' oriente,
 Come dicesse a Dio: D' altro non calme.
Te lucis ante sì divotamente
 Le uscì di bocca, e con sì dolci note,
 Che fece me a me uscir di mente:
 E l' altre poi dolcemente e divote
 Seguitar lei per tutto l' inno intero, '
 Avendo gli occhi alle superne ruote.
 Aguzza qui, Lettor, ben gli occhi al vero;
 Chè il velo è ora ben tanto sottile, 20
 Certo, che il trapassar dentro è leggiero.

¹² **non calme** = *non mi cale*; so xxx. 135.

¹³ The well-known Compline hymn. '*Te lucis ante terminum, Rerum Creator, poscimus, Ut pro tua clementia Sis praesul et custodia.*'

¹⁵ Made me forget everything else. Cf. again Eth. Nic. x. 5 (quoted in note to iv. 1-12).

¹⁹⁻²¹ The meaning of these lines has been much discussed. There can be little doubt, however, that the simplest interpretation is also the right one, viz.: 'Here, if anywhere, is the point at which the allegorical sense may be comprehended.' At the same time it must be said that none of the explanations is very satisfactory. Perhaps the key is to be

I saw that noble army silently thereafter gaze upward, as though awaiting, pale and humble; and I saw issue from on high, and descend downward, two angels with two flaming swords, shortened and deprived of their points. Green, as leaflets but just born, they were in raiment, which they drew after them smitten and blown about by green wings. The one came to a halt a little above us, and the other descended upon the opposite bank, so that the folk was held in the midst. Well discerned I in them their fair heads; but in their faces the eye went astray, as a faculty which is confounded by excess. 'Both come

Io vidi quello esercito gentile
 Tacito poscia riguardare in sue,
 Quasi aspettando pallido ed umile :
 E vidi uscir dell' alto, e scender giue
 Due Angeli con due spade affocate,
 Tronche e private delle punte sue.
 Verdi come fogliette pur mo nate
 Erano in veste, che da verdi penne
 Percosse traean dietro e ventilate.
 L' un poco sovra noi a star si venne,
 E l' altro scese in l' opposita sponda,
 Sì che la gente in mezzo si contenne.
 Ben discerneva in lor la testa bionda :
 Ma nelle facce l' occhio si smarria,
 Come virtù che a troppo si confonda.

30

found in the fact that the angels are clad in green. In the parallel passage, *Inf.* ix. 37-63, it may be observed that the Furies, by a kind of infernal parody, are 'girt with greenest snakes.' As they summon Medusa, or Despair, to turn the gazer into stone, so here we have our attention called to the Hope which animates the souls of the righteous.

³⁶ *virtù* as in *iv.* 2. Cf. *xvii.* 53, *Par.* v. 133, 134. The idea is from *De Anima* ii. 12: τῶν αἰσθητῶν αἱ ὑπερβολαὶ φθείρουσι τὰ αἰσθητήρια, or in the old Latin version which Dante almost certainly used:

from the bosom of Mary,' said Sordello, 'for guard of the valley, by reason of the serpent which will straightway come.'* Whence I, who knew not by what path, turned me around, and straitly placed myself, all chilled, beside the trusted shoulders. And Sordello again: 'Now let us go down at once among the mighty shades, and we will speak to them; well-pleasing will it be to them to see you.'

Only three steps I think that I descended, and I was below, and saw one who was gazing only at me, as though he wished to know me. By this it was a time when the air was growing dark, yet not so much but that between his eyes and mine it let grow clear that which till then it hid.

Ambo vegnon del grembo di Maria,
 Disse Sordello, a guardia della valle,
 Per lo serpente che verrà via via.
 Ond' io che non sapeva per qual calle, 40
 Mi volsi intorno, e stretto m' accostai
 Tutto gelato alle fidate spalle.
 E Sordello anche: Ora avvalliamo omai
 Tra le grandi ombre, e parleremo ad esse:
 Grazioso fia lor vedervi assai.
 Solo tre passi credo ch' io scendesse,
 E fui di sotto, e vidi un che mirava
 Pur me, come conoscer mi volesse.
 Tempo era già che l' aer s' annerava,
 Ma non sì, che tra gli occhi suoi i miei 50
 Non dichiarasse ciò che pria serrava.

'Sensibilium excellentiae corrumpunt sensitiva.' Cf. also De An. iii. 2, So Pascal, Pens. i. 1: Les qualités excessives nous sont ennemies et non pas sensibles.

⁴⁹⁻⁵¹ Though it was growing dusk, there was still light enough to enable us when we approached to recognise each other through the less space of air.

Towards me he moved, and I moved towards him ; noble judge Nino, how much it pleased me when I saw that thou wast not among the damned ! No fair salutation was silent between us ; then he asked : ' How long is it since thou didst come to the foot of the mount by the distant waters ? ' ' Oh,' said I to him, ' by way of the regions of woe I came this morning, and I am in my first life, albeit that by so going I am seeking to gain the second.' And as my answer was heard, Sordello and he drew themselves

Ver me si fece, ed io ver lui mi fei ;
 Giudice Nin gentil, quanto mi piacque,
 Quando ti vidi non esser tra i rei !
 Nullo bel salutar tra noi si tacque :
 Poi dimandò : Quant' è, che tu venisti
 Appiè del monte per le lontane acque ?
 O, diss' io lui, per entro i luoghi tristi
 Venni stamane, e sono in prima vita,
 Ancor che l' altra sì andando acquisti. 60
 E come fu la mia riposta udita,
 Sordello ed egli indietro si raccolse,

⁵³ Nino dei Visconti of Pisa, nephew (or, as Villani says, perhaps from a confusion with Nino called Brigata, grandson) of Count Ugolino dei Gherardeschi, was the leader of the Pisan Guelphs about the year 1288, and was driven out of the city by Ugolino. Sardinia having been captured by the Pisans from the Saracens in the eleventh century, was divided into four portions under certain noble families of Pisa, who governed it as feudatories of the Republic, with the title of judges, the district of Gallura falling to the share of the Visconti. By this time, however, the Giudici seem to have become merely Pisan nobles. Philalethes suggests that Dante may have met Nino at the capture of Caprona in 1289. See also *Inf.* xxii. 82-90.

⁶⁰ It will be observed that his own salvation is always represented as the object of Dante's journey. Cf. xxx. 136.

⁶² As Blanc points out, vi. 57 explains why Sordello has not till now known that Dante is alive.

backward, as folk bewildered of a sudden. The one turned round to Virgil, and the other to one who was sitting there, crying: 'Up, Conrad, come to see what God through His grace has willed.' Then, turning to me: 'By this singular favour, which thou owest to Him who so hides His own first wherefore that there is no sounding it, when thou shalt be beyond the broad waters say to my Joan that she cry there for me where answer to the innocent is given. I think that her mother loves me not any more, since she has changed the white wimple, which it behoves that she poor soul must long for yet again. Through

Come gente di subito smarrita.
 L' uno a Virgilio, e l' altro ad un si volse
 Che sedea lì, gridando: Su Currado,
 Vieni a veder che Dio per grazia volse.
 Poi volto a me: Per quel singular grado,
 Che tu dei a colui, che sì nasconde
 Lo suo primo perchè, che non gli è guado,
 Quando sarai di là dalle larghe onde, 70
 Di' a Giovanna mia, che per me chiami
 Là dove agl' innocenti si risponde.
 Non credo che la sua madre più m' ami,
 Poscia che trasmutò le bianche bende,
 Le quai convien che misera ancor brami.

⁶⁴ *ad un.* The MSS. examined by Dr. Moore, in the proportion of ten to nine, and two at least of the first six edd. absurdly read *a me*.—*si volse*. See note to iv. 100.

⁶⁹ *guado*; literally, 'it has no shallow.'

⁷³ Nino's wife was an Este. After his death she married Galeazzo Visconti of Milan.

⁷⁴ Philalethes quotes Boccaccio to show that black clothes and white headgear were then, as now, the mark of widowhood.

her easily enough one may understand how long a flame of love lasts in a woman, if eye or frequent touch rekindle it not. The viper which the Milanese bears will not make her so fair a sepulture as the cock of Gallura would have made.' Thus he spoke, marked in his aspect with the stamp of that upright zeal which burns, in due measure, in the heart.

My eyes were going eagerly to the heaven only, even

Per lei assai di lieve si comprende
 Quanto in femmina fuoco d' amor dura,
 Se l' occhio o il tatto spesso nol raccende.
 Non le farà sì bella sepoltura
 La vipera che il Melanese accampa,^a 80
 Com' avria fatto il gallo di Gallura.
 Così dicea, segnato della stampa
 Nel suo aspetto di quel dritto zelo,
 Che misuratamente in cuore avvampa.
 Gli occhi miei ghiotti andavan pure al cielo,

^a *che i Melanesi Gg. Land. 14 W. ; che Menalesi Cass.*

⁸⁰ I have followed Bianchi and Fraticelli in reading **che il Melanese accampa**. Blanc 'regards as preferable in all respects' the older *che i Melanesi acc.*, 'which sets the Milanese in battle-array'; or, as Philaethes translates, 'drunter Mailands Volk sich lagert.' But surely this is introducing an uncalled-for idea, and moreover, **il Melanese** is exactly the term by which a Visconti of Pisa would designate one of the same name (if not the same stock) at Milan. **accampa**: 'bears on the field of his escutcheon.' Villani ix. 110: i signori Visconti di Milano come si sa hanno l' arme loro il campo bianco e la vipera. Benv. (to Inf. xxii. 82) avers that Gallura took its name from the cock borne by the Visconti of Pisa.

⁸⁴ **in cuore**: idest incendit animum boni viri. Benv.

there where the stars are slower, as a wheel where it is nearer to the axle. And my Leader: 'Son, at what gazest thou on high?' And I to him: 'At those three torches, where-with the whole pole on this side burns.' And he to me: 'The four bright stars which thou sawest this morning are low on that side, and these are risen where those were.' As he was beginning to speak, Sordello drew him to himself, saying: 'See there our adversary,' and pointed his finger that he might look that way. On that side where

Pur là dove le stelle son più tarde,
 Sì come ruota più presso allo stelo.
 E il Duca mio: Figliuol, che lassù guarde?
 Ed io a lui: A quelle tre facelle,
 Di che il polo di qua tutto quanto arde. 90
 Ed egli a me: Le quattro chiare stelle,
 Che vedevi staman, son di là basse,
 E queste son salite ov' eran quelle.
 Com' ei parlava, e Sordello a sè il trasse,^b
 Dicendo: Vedi là il nostro avversaro,
 E drizzò il dito, perchè in là guatasse.
 Da quella parte, onde non ha riparo

^b *Com' io parl. W.*

⁸⁹ Whether Dante had really any three stars in his mind, and if so, what they were, is a favourite subject of discussion among commentators. The most commonly selected are α Eridani (Achernar), α Argus (Canopus), and α Doradus. An objection to this is that these are too near the Cross to be high when that is set; nor are they very near the pole. Others suggest Canopus and the Magellanic Clouds. But these speculations are not of much use. What is certain is that the four seen in the morning (i. 23) denote the cardinal or active virtues, and these the theological or contemplative. See xxxi. 106. It must be observed that all the seven are near the pole. The seven all together form the 'settentrion del primo cielo,' xxx. 1.

⁹⁴ Notice *e* answering to *come*, and cf. Inf. i. 31.

the little valley has no rampart was a snake; perchance such as gave to Eve the bitter food. Through the grass and flowers came the evil reptile, turning now and again its head towards its back, licking, like a beast which sleeks itself. I saw not, and therefore I cannot say, how the heavenly falcons moved, but I surely saw both one and the other in motion. Hearing their green wings cleave the air the serpent fled, and the angels wheeled upward to their posts, flying back abreast. The shade which had drawn close to the judge when he called, through all that assault had not a moment been loosed from gazing on me. 'So may the lantern which is leading thee on high find

La picciola vallea, era una biscia,
 Forse qual diede ad Eva il cibo amaro.
 Tra l' erba e i fior venia la mala striscia, 100
 Volgendo ad or ad or la testa al dosso,
 Leccando come bestia che si liscia.^c
 Io nol vidi, e però dicer nol posso,
 Come mosser gli astor celestiali :
 Ma vidi bene e l' uno e l' altro mosso.
 Sentendo fender l' aere alle verdi ali,
 Fuggì il serpente, e gli Angeli dier volta
 Suso alle poste rivolando iguali.
 L' ombra che s' era al Giudice raccolta,
 Quando chiamò, per tutto quell' assalto 110
 Punto non fu da me guardare sciolta.
 Se la lucerna che ti mena in alto,

^c e il dosso *Lecc. 2 Ald. Land. Bi.*

¹⁰⁶ **sentendo fender alle ali** ; so *legar vidi alla fiera* xxxii. 96. Cf. Fr. 'entendre dire, voir faire, à qqun.' Diez, Gr. Rom. iii. 123.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *Odyssey*, ii. 149.

in thy will candle so much as needs to reach the enamel of the summit,' it began, 'if thou knowest true news of Valdimagra, or of its neighbourhood, tell it to me, for once was I great there. I was called Conrad Malaspina ;

Truovi nel tuo arbitrio tanta cera,
 Quant' è mestiero infino al sommo smalto,
 Cominciò ella : se novella vera
 Di Valdimagra, o di parte vicina
 Sai, dilla a me, che già grande là era.
 Chiamato fui Currado Malaspina.^d

^d *Fu già chiam. Gg. ; Fu io 124.*

¹¹² 'May God's grace' (typified by the lantern, as by Lucia) 'find in thy free-will sufficient material whereon to act'; or, as Philalethes well renders: 'Soll jene Leuchte, die dich führt nach oben, So vieles Oel in deinen Willen finden.' The construction is the same as in ii. 16, v. 85, etc.

¹¹⁴ **smalto.** The flower-enamelled summit of the mountain. So the meadow in which the great men of pre-Christian times walk is called (Inf. iv. 118) 'il verde smalto.' Others take it as meaning the highest heaven.

^{116, 118} **Valdimagra.** The Magra rises at the N. end of the province of Lunigiana and flows into the sea just E. of the Gulf of Spezia. Of this territory the Malaspina were lords at the end of the thirteenth century (see note, Inf. xxiv. 145). This Conrad appears to have been cousin of Moroello, the 'Vapor di Valdimagra' of that passage, and would seem, from Boccaccio (Day ii. Nov. 6), to have been himself a Ghibeline. There is, however, some obscurity as to the politics of the family, but Dante had grounds of personal gratitude enough to outweigh any political differences in the case of a house under whose protection he was living in 1306 and 1307. The Purgatory was dedicated to a Moroello Malaspina, probably a cousin's son to the Moroello above named; Foscolo thinks to Spinetta, the friend of Ugucione and Can della Scala. Villani does not mention them, but see Philalethes here, and Balbo, Vita di Dante, part ii. ch. 6, also Bianchi's note, for the genealogy of the family. Prof. Bartoli has a very full Appendix on the subject at the end of vol. vi. of his *Letteratura Italiana*.

I am not the Ancient, but I am descended from him ; I bare to mine the love which here is purified.' 'Oh,' said I to him, 'through your lands I never was ; but where dwell men throughout all Europe, that they are not known ? The fame that honours your house shouts forth its lords, and shouts forth the country, so that he knows of it who never yet was there. And I swear to you, so may I go on high, that your honoured race ceases not to be adorned with the glory of the purse and of the sword. Custom and nature

Non son l' antico, ma di lui discesi :
 Ai miei portai l' amor che qui raffina. 120
 O, dissi lui, per li vostri paesi ^e
 Giammai non fui : ma dove si dimora
 Per tutta Europa, ch' ei non sien palesi ?
 La fama che la vostra casa onora,
 Grida i signori, e gridà la contrada,
 Sì che ne sa chi non vi fu ancora.
 Ed io vi giuro, s' io di sopra vada,
 Che vostra gente onrata non si sfregia
 Del pregio della borsa e della spada.
 Uso e natura sì la privilegia, 130

^e *Certo, diss' io, Ott.*

¹¹⁹ **l' antico.** Conrad the elder, grandfather of the speaker, was a staunch supporter of Frederick II. He died about 1255.

¹²⁰ 'Portai tanto amore a' miei, che io ne lasciai la cura dell' anima, ed indugiai l' opere meritorie della salute per guerreggiare ed acquistare amici ; il quale amore qui si cimenta e purga.' Ottimo.

¹²⁸ Notice **vostra** as denoting respect. Cf. Inf. xv. 30, and see Diez iii. 50.

¹²⁹ Landino, though in his text he has **sfregia**, seems by his note to prefer *fregia*, and takes **borsa** and **spada** in a bad sense. Gg. has *non si fresgia* (sic), i.e. 'non deornatur et spoliatur.'

give it such privilege, that whereas the guilty head is turning the world astray, it alone goes straight, and despises the evil road.' And he: 'Go now, for the sun lays not himself seven times more in the bed which the Ram covers and bestrides with all four feet, but this courteous opinion will be fastened in the midst of thy head with stronger nails than of another's speech; if course of doom be not arrested.'

Che perchè il capo reo lo mondo torca,
Sola va dritta, e il mal cammin dispregia.
Ed egli: Or va, chè il Sol non si ricorca
Sette volte nel letto che il Montone
Con tutti e quattro i piè cuopre ed inforca,
Che cotesta cortese opinione
Ti fia chiavata in mezzo della testa
Con maggior chiovi che d' altrui sermone,
Se corso di giudicio non s' arresta.

¹³¹ The usual interpretation seems the best, which understands by **capo reo**, the Pope Boniface VIII. Landino passes over the words in silence, a pretty clear proof how he understood them. Vellutello talks some wonderful nonsense about the pommel (**capo**) of the sword being kept downwards. Blanc prefers to take **mondo** as the subject, 'whereas the world turns aside its guilty head,' sc. from the right path.

^{133, 134} I.e. the spring equinox will not recur seven times. See note, l. 116.

CANTO IX

ARGUMENT

Dante falls asleep, and dreams a dream of an eagle. Second sunrise. In his sleep he is borne by Lucy to the door of Purgatory, where he finds an angel, seated over three steps of divers stone. The angel admits them into Purgatory, but first makes certain marks on Dante's forehead.

THE bedfellow of ancient Tithonus was already growing white on the gallery of the east, forth from the arms of her sweet paramour; her forehead was bright with gems, placed in the figure of the cold animal that smites folk with

LA concubina di Titone antico,
Già s' imbiancava al balzo d' oriente,^a
Fuor delle braccia del suo dolce amico :
Di gemme la sua fronte era lucente,
Poste in figura del freddo animale,
Che con la coda percuote la gente :

^a *balco* Cass. *W.*

¹⁻⁹ See note at end of this Canto.

¹ N.B. the form **Titone** for **Titono**. Scart. reads *Titan*, meaning the sun, his **concubina** being the sea. There is little authority for the reading; nor need more be desired.

² **s' imbiancava** : so **s' impingua**, Par. x. 96.

its tail ; and the night, of the steps wherewith she mounts, had in the place where we were made two, and the third was already inclining downward its wings, when I, who had with me some of Adam's part, overcome by sleep reclined on the grass, there where, all five, already we were sitting.

In the hour when the swallow begins her sad lays, near to the morning, perhaps in memory of her former woes, and when our mind, pilgrim rather from the flesh, and less held by its thoughts, is in its visions as it were divine ; in a dream I seemed to see an eagle with feathers of gold, poised in heaven, with its wings open and astrain to swoop.

E la notte dei passi con che sale
 Fatti avea due nel luogo ov' eravamo,
 E il terzo già chinava ingiuso l' ale :
 Quand' io che meco avea di quel d' Adamo, 10
 Vinto dal sonno in su l' erba inchinai,
 Là 've già tutti e cinque sedevamo.
 Nell' ora che comincia i tristi lai
 La rondinella presso alla mattina,
 Forse a memoria dei suoi primi guai,
 E che la mente nostra pellegrina
 Più dalla carne, e men dai pensier presa,
 Alle sue vision quasi è divina,
 In sogno mi pareva veder sospesa
 Un' aquila nel ciel con penne d' oro, 20
 Con l' ali aperte, ed a calare intesa :

¹² **tutti e cinque.** Dante, Virgil, Sordello, Nino, Conrad.

^{16, 17} Blanc thinks the construction here 'etwas gezwungene,' and perhaps there is an objection to the form in which the sentence is cast, **più pellegrina** and **men presa** being only apparently antithetical. The sense is however plain.

¹⁹ For this and the other dreams seen by Dante in Purgatory, see Appendix A.

And meseemed I was in that place where his friends were abandoned by Ganymede, when he was ravished to the consistory on high. Within myself I thought, perhaps it strikes by custom only here, and perhaps from another place it disdains to bear away aloft in its claw. Then meseemed that having wheeled a little more terrible as a thunderbolt it descended, and snatched me upward as far as the fire. There it seemed that it and I burned, and so the imagined conflagration scorched, that it behoved that my sleep broke. Not otherwise did Achilles start from sleep, turning his awakened eyes around, and not knowing where he was, when his mother

Ed esser mi pareva là dove foro
 Abbandonati i suoi da Ganimede,
 Quando fu ratto al sommo concistoro.
 Fra me pensava : Forse questa fiede
 Pur qui per uso, e forse d' altro loco
 Disdegna di portarne suso in piede.
 Poi mi pareva che più rotata un poco,^b
 Terribil come folgor discendesse,
 E me rapisse suso infino al foco. 30
 Ivi pareva ch' ella ed io ardesse,
 E sì lo incendio immaginato cosse,
 Che convenne che il sonno si rompesse.
 Non altrimenti Achille si riscosse,
 Gli occhi svegliati rivolgendo in giro,
 E non sapendo là dove si fosse :

^b *che roteata W.; che poi r. Gg. Cass.*

²³ I.e. on Ida.

³⁰ **foco.** The sphere of fire, or empyrean. See Conv. ii. 4.

³⁴ **sqg.** See Statius, Ach. i., especially lines 247 sqq.

³⁶ **si fosse.** So **si** is used with *sapere*, v. 135; with *guatare* ix. 132; so *ti stavi* vi. 62. So, too, *io mi sono* xxiv. 52, xxvii. 101. See Diez iii. 176.

from Chiron carried him across sleeping in her arms to Scyros, the place whence afterwards the Greeks made him depart, than did I start up, so soon as from my face sleep fled, and I became all amort, as does the man who freezes with fear. Beside me was my Comforter alone, and the sun was already more than two hours high, and my face was turned to the sea. 'Have no fear,' said my Master, 'make thyself secure, for we are at a good point; contract not, but widen all thy force. Thou art from this point come to Purgatory; see there the gallery which closes it round; see the entry there where it appears disjoined. Ere this, in the dawn which goes before the day, when thy soul was

Quando la madre da Chirone a Schiro
 Trafugò lui dormendo in le sue braccia,
 Là onde poi gli Greci il dipartiro :
 Che mi scoss' io, sì come dalla faccia 40
 Mi fuggì il sonno, e diventai ismorto,
 Come fa l' uom che spaventato agghiaccia.^c
 Da lato m' era solo il mio conforto,
 E il sole er' alto già più di due ore,
 E il viso m' era alla marina torto.
 Non aver tema, disse il mio Signore :
 Fatti sicur, chè noi siamo a buon punto :
 Non stringer, ma rallarga ogni vigore.
 Tu sei omai al Purgatorio giunto :
 Vedi là il balzo, che il chiude dintorno : 50
 Vedi l' entrata là 've par disgiunto.
 Dianzi, nell' alba che precede al giorno,
 Quando l' anima tua dentro dormia,

^c *accaccia Gg.; accaccia Cass. 12345.*

⁴⁰ *sì come.* Cf. Par. xxiv. 152, where it corresponds with *tosto che* in l. 150. So 'just as' is used in English of both time and manner.

sleeping within thee on the flowers, wherewith it is adorned down yonder, came a dame, and said: "I am Lucy; let me take this man who sleeps, so will I speed him on his way." Sordello remained, and the other noble forms; she took thee up, and, as the day was clear, went her way upward, and I in her track. Here laid she thee; and first her fair eyes showed me that entry open; then she and thy sleep together went their way.' In fashion of a man who in doubt reassures himself, and who turns into comfort his fear, after

Sopra li fiori, onde laggiù è adorno,
 Venne una donna, e disse: Io son Lucia:
 Lasciatemi pigliar costui che dorme:
 Sî l' agevolerò per la sua via.
 Sordel rimase, e l' altre gentil forme:
 Ella ti tolse, e come il dì fu chiaro,
 Sen venne suso, ed io per le sue orme. 60
 Qui ti posò: e pria mi dimostrarò
 Gli occhi suoi belli quell' entrata aperta:
 Poi ella e il sonno ad una se n' andaro.
 A guisa d' uom che in dubbio si raccerta,
 E che muta in conforto sua paura,^d

^d *E mutin conf. Cass. 14; e mutin ne 2; e muti per 3; e che muti in c. Ald. Land. Bi.; e che muta c. 5; e indi riconforta Gg.*

⁵⁵ For **Lucia**, symbolising, say the commentators, illuminant grace, see Inf. ii. 97; and with the whole of this passage compare the way in which Dante is brought in an unconscious swoon to the edge of Hell. Inf. iii. and iv.

⁵⁸ **forme** = **anime**, the soul being the *form*, in the metaphysical sense, of the body. De An. ii. 1: ἀναγκαῖον τὴν ψυχὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι ὡς εἶδος σώματος φυσικοῦ. So Aquinas S.T. i. Q. 76, *passim*; and Canto xviii. 49.

⁶⁵ The reading **muti** seems the less satisfactory, because there does not appear to be any need for the harsh change from the indic.

that the truth is disclosed to him, myself I changed ; and as my Leader saw me free from care, he moved upward along the ledge, and I behind him toward the height.

Reader, thou seest well how I exalt my matter, and therefore wonder not if with more art I sustain it.

We drew us near, and were at such a part that there where first had seemed to me a breach, just like a crack which parts a wall, I saw a gate, and three steps below it to go to it, divers of colours, and a porter who as yet spake no word. And as I opened more and more my eye to it, I saw that he sat over the highest step, such in his face that I endured it not ; and he had a naked sword in

Poi che la verità gli è scoperta,
 Mi cambia' io : e come senza cura
 Videmi il Duca mio, su per lo balzo
 Si mosse, ed io dietro inver l' altura.
 Lettor, tu vedi ben, com' io innalzo 70
 La mia materia, e però con più arte
 Non ti maravigliar s' io la rincalzo.
 Noi ci appressammo, ed eravamo in parte,
 Che là, dove pareami prima un rotto,
 Pur come un fesso che muro diparte,
 Vidi una porta, e tre gradi di sotto
 Per gire ad essa, di color diversi,
 Ed un portier, che ancor non faceva motto.
 E come l' occhio più e più v' apersi,
 Vidil seder sopra il grado soprano, 80
 Tal nella faccia, ch' io non lo sofferisi :
 Ed una spada nuda aveva in mano,

raccerta ; though but for this we might perhaps expect a subjunctive. See Diez iii. 345.

⁷² **rincalzo**. Par. xxi. 130.

⁷⁹ So xiii. 46.

his hand, which reflected the rays so towards us, that I directed often my sight in vain. 'Tell me, from where ye stand, what would ye?' he began to say; 'where is your escort? Look to it, that to come upward hurt you not.' 'A dame of Heaven, knowing of these things,' answered my Master to him, 'but ere now said to us: "Go thither, there is the gate."' 'And may she further your steps to good,' began again the courteous gatekeeper; 'come then forward to our stair.' There where we came to the first stair, it was

Che riflettea i raggi sì ver noi,
 Ch' io dirizzava spesso il viso in vano :
 Ditel costinci, che volete voi ?
 Cominciò egli a dire : ov' è la scorta ?
 Guardate che il venir su non vi noi.
 Donna del Ciel, di queste cose accorta,
 Rispose il mio Maestro a lui, pur dianzi
 Ne disse : Andate là, quivi è la porta. 90
 Ed ella i passi vostri in bene avanzi,
 Ricominciò il cortese portinaio :
 Venite dunque ai nostri gradi innanzi.
 Là 've venimmo allo scaglion` primaio "

^e *La ne venimmo ; e lo, ed. 1484, Ald. ; La ci traemmo Caet.*

⁸⁷ 'Optime dicit, quia multi quotidie accedunt ad sacerdotem pro paenitentia, qui truffantur de eo et de Deo, ut videantur boni viri . . . sicut jocose fecit sanctus Capelletus de quo pulcre scribit Boccacius de Certaldo placidissimus hominum.'—Benv.

⁹⁴ Much has been written about the symbolical meaning of these three steps. There is no question but that they denote the state of mind with which penance is to be approached; or as Miss Rossetti, 'Shadow of Dante,' well puts it: 'Candid confession mirroring the whole man, mournful contrition breaking the hard heart of the gazer on the Cross; love all aflame offering up in satisfaction the life-blood of body, soul, and spirit.' The rest of the passage may be read with advantage.

white marble, so polished and rubbed that I was mirrored in it as I appear. The second, of deeper tint than perse, was of a rock rugged and fire-burnt, cracked through its length and across. The third, which masses itself above, seemed to me porphyry so flaming as blood which spirts forth from a vein. Upon this the Angel of God was holding both his feet, sitting on the threshold, which seemed to me a rock of adamant. Over the three steps upward with a good will my Leader drew me, saying : ' Ask humbly that he undo the

Bianco marmo era sì pulito e terso,
 Ch' io mi specchiai in esso quale io paio.
 Era il secondo tinto più che perso,
 D' una petrina ruvida ed arsiccia,
 Crepata per lo lungo e per traverso.
 Lo terzo, che di sopra s' ammassiccia, 100
 Porfido mi pareva sì fiammeggiante,
 Come sangue che fuor di vena spiccia.
 Sopra questo teneva ambo le piante
 L' Angel di Dio, sedendo in su la soglia,
 Che mi sembiava pietra di diamante.
 Per li tre gradi su di buona voglia
 Mi trasse il Duca mio, dicendo : Chiedi
 Umilmente che il serrame scioglia.

⁹⁷ *perso*. 'è un colore misto di purpureo e di nero, ma vince il nero,' Conv. iv. 20. 'aer perso,' Inf. v. 89. 'buia assai vie più che persa,' Ib. vii. 103. In Chaucer, Prologue to 'Canterbury Tales,' l. 439, we read of the Doctor of Physic that 'In sanguine and in perse he clad was all'; where, by the way, Dr. Morris can hardly be right in explaining it as 'a bluish-gray,' 'sky-blue.'

⁹⁹ It is curious that Miss Rossetti should have been (apparently) the first commentator to detect the obvious allusion to the Cross in the cracking of the stone in its length and breadth.

lock.' Devout I threw myself at the holy feet ; I asked for mercy, and that he would open to me ; but first upon my breast three times I smote myself. Seven P's upon my forehead he described with the point of the sword, and 'See that thou wash, when thou art within, these strokes,' said he. Ash, or earth that should crack with drought, would be of one colour with his vestment, and from beneath that he drew two keys. The one was of gold, and the other was of silver ; first with the white, and afterward with the yellow, he dealt with

Divoto mi gittai a santi piedi :
 Misericordia chiesi e che m' aprisse, 110
 Ma pria nel petto tre volte mi diedi.^f
 Sette P nella fronte mi descrisse
 Col punton della spada ; e : Fa che lavi,
 Quando sei dentro, queste piaghe, disse.
 Cenere o terra che secca si cavi,
 D' un color fora col suo vestimento :
 E di sotto da quel trasse due chiavi.
 L' una era d' oro, e l' altra era d' argento :
 Pria con la bianca, e poscia con la gialla

^f *tre fiata Gg. Cass. 1234 W. etc.*

¹¹¹ For this use of *dare*, cf. xxiv. 148 ; and such expression as 'dar nel brocco' (to hit the mark). All the edd. so far as I know read *fiata* ; but the word is almost (if not quite) invariably a trisyllable in Dante and his contemporaries, as indeed from its derivation it should be. I have therefore preferred to read *volte* which has very respectable MS. support.

¹¹² Seven P's (*Peccato*) for the seven deadly sins.

¹¹⁸ The silver key is the science which discerns the true penitent ; the golden, the power of absolution, more costly, because purchased by the death of Christ. See Philalethes here, who refers to Aquinas S. T. iii. Suppl. Q. 17. 'On the entity and quiddity of the keys.'

the gate so that I was content. 'Whenever one of these keys fails, so that it does not turn straight through the keyhole,' said he to us, 'this gap opens not. One is more costly, but the other needs much of art and wit ere it unlocks, because it is that which disentangles the knot. From Peter I hold them; and he bade that I should err rather toward opening than toward keeping it locked, so only that the folk prostrated themselves at my feet.' Then he pushed the door of the sacred portal, saying: 'Enter, but I do you to wit that forth returns whoso looks him back.' And when upon the hinges were turned the pins of that holy portal, which are of metal, resounding and strong,

Fece alla porta sì ch' io fui contento. 120
 Quandunque l' una d' este chiavi falla,
 Che non si volga dritta per la toppa,
 Diss' egli a noi, non s' apre questa calla.
 Più cara è l' una; ma l' altra vuol troppa
 D' arte e d' ingegno avanti che disserri,
 Perch' ell' è quella che il nodo disgroppa.
 Da Pier le tengo: e disse mi, ch' io erri
 Anzi ad aprir, che a tenerla serrata;
 Pur che la gente a' piedi mi s' atterri.
 Poi pinse l' uscio alla porta sacrata, 130
 Dicendo: Intrate; ma facciovvi accorti
 Che di fuor torna chi indietro si guata.
 E quando fur nei cardini distorti
 Gli spigoli di quella regge sacra
 Che di metallo son sonanti e forti,

¹²³ **calla.** See iv. 22.

¹³² **si guata.** See note, l. 36.

Tarpeia bellowed not so, nor showed herself so shrill, when taken from her was the good Metellus, whereby afterwards she remained lean. I turned me round attentive to the first tone, and methought I heard *Te Deum laudamus*, in a voice mingled with the sweet harmony. Just such an image gave me that which I heard, as one is wont to receive when they stand to sing with an organ, when the words now are perceived and now are not.

Non ruggìo sì, nè si mostrò sì, acra
 Tarpeia, come tolto le fu il buono
 Metello, per che poi rimase macra.^g
 Io mi rivolsi attento al primo tuono,
 E *Te Deum laudamus*, mi pareo
 Udire in voce mista al dolce suono.
 Tale immagine appunto mi rendea
 Ciò ch' io udiva, qual prender si suole,
 Quando a cantar con organi si stea :
 Che or sì or no s' intendon le parole.

140

^g *donde poi Ald. Land.*

¹³⁶ Alluding to Lucan's description of the plunder of the temple of Saturn by Caesar, in spite of the opposition of the tribune Metellus. *Pharsalia* iii. 115-168, especially l. 153 sqq. :

Protinus abducto patuerunt templa Metello,
 Tunc rupes Tarpeia sonat, magnoque reclusas
 Testatur stridore fores.

And 167, 168—

Tristi spoliatur templa rapina,
 Pauperiorque fuit tunc primum Caesare Roma.

¹³⁹ **rivolsi**, i.e. 'I turned away from the gate'; not, of course, back towards it, which had just been forbidden.—**tuono**, merely the sound of music heard from within, not, as some take it, of the gate opening or closing. See x. 4-6.

¹⁴⁴ **organi**, plural, because the instrument consists of a number of pipes. So in old French *orgues* is sometimes used of a single instrument.

NOTE TO LINES 1-9.

There is much controversy as to the time indicated in these lines. The analogy of the two following nights would make it probable that Dante does not fall asleep until towards morning; and that the bedfellow of Tithonus should be any other than Aurora, the true Dawn, is intolerable. But from the fourteenth century downwards, commentators, with few exceptions, have agreed in understanding the phenomena to be those of *moonrise*, chiefly on the ground that when the sun is in Aries, Scorpio is too far off for its stars to appear as gems on the forehead of the dawn. They then interpret the *passi* as hours (though it seems doubtful whether in Dante's time the night was ever divided by hours), and fix the time at two to three hours after sunset. But it must be remarked that all these interpretations omit to notice that this is the moon of the spring equinox, which in Italy would not rise at four days after the full until past eleven o'clock, while, being the 'harvest-moon' of the other hemisphere, it would rise 'nel loco ov'eravamo,' about seven. It would seem from x. 14 that Dante did not forget this difference between the two hemispheres. Anyhow, it is not likely that so accurate an observer would overlook the rapid latening of moonrise at this season here, and in neither case can *passi* denote hours. Secondly, the Right Ascension of this moon, at this age, is about sixteen hours, which puts her right among the stars of Scorpio (though in the sign of Sagittarius), so that those stars would be hidden by her light, and in no sense be gems on the forehead of the lunar dawn. Now it is hardly possible to doubt that Dante is describing the phenomena from his own observation; and if any one will do the same, he will, I think, see that at the beginning of April, when the dawn is just beginning to 'whiten' in the east, i.e. a little after three A.M., the constellation Scorpio is just on the meridian, in which position it may be said to be on the forehead of the dawn. In England it is low; but in Italy, and, of course, still more in Purgatory (say 32° S.), it would be much higher. *Passi* I understand to be 'signs,' though there is, on any explanation, some confusion in lines 7-9; but line 9 can only refer to something which *goes downward*. Now the 'night' (ii. 4) is in Libra, and the Signs 'with which she rises' are Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius. The first two are past, and the third (which, by the precession of the equinoxes, would about correspond with Scorpio the constellation) is just turning the meridian. The use of *fatto* is illustrated by Par. i. 43. On the whole, therefore, I agree with Bianchi in understanding the passage in its obvious meaning, though I do not hold with Prof.

Mossotti, whom he quotes, in supposing the 'freddo animale' to be the Fish, the stars of which are too insignificant to form a feature. As a slight corroboration it may be added that the poets, from Petrarch to Redi, have used such expressions as 'amica,' 'fanciulla,' 'druda di Titone,' for the sundawn. The resemblance to Iliad x. 251-253 is curious, but can hardly be more than accidental.

For an exhaustive discussion of the question (though he differs from my conclusion) readers should consult Dr. Moore's *Time-references of the Divina Commedia* (Nutt).

CANTO X

ARGUMENT

The first or lowest circle of Purgatory, where those are purified who have sinned through pride. They see certain images carved on the rock wherein acts of humility are commemorated. As they stay to look at these, the souls overtake them, each bearing on his back a heavy burden.

AFTER we were within the threshold of the gate which evil love makes unfrequented of souls, because it makes the crooked way seem straight, I heard by its resounding that it was shut ; and if I had turned my eyes to it what excuse had been meet for the fault ?

Poi fummo dentro al soglio della porta
Che il malo amor dell' anime disusa,
Perchè fa parer dritta la via torta,
Sonando la senti' esser richiusa :
E s' io avessi gli occhi volti ad essa,
Qual fora stata al fallo degna scusa ?

¹ **poi** for **poiche**. So xv. 34. Par. ii. 56. Conv. ii. 7. Even in later Italian this omission of **che** is almost as common as the similar omission of *that* in English. Such constructions as 'giudicava necessario gli fusse data la signoria' may be found in Macchiavelli *passim*. Diez iii. 312, 339.

² It seems better to treat **disusa** as a verb like *disgravare* (Inf. xxx. 144), etc., than to take **dell' anime** as a genitive depending on **amor**. **malo amor**, see xvii. 85 sqq.

⁶ **degn a**. So Inf. i. 122, ii. 33.

We were mounting through a cleft in the rock, which kept shifting on one side and the other like as a wave that recedes and draws near. 'Here it behoves to use a little art,' began my Leader, 'in approaching now this way now that, to the side where it parts.' And this made our steps so scant that the waned moon returned to her bed for her setting before that we were forth from that needle's eye. But when we were free and in the open space above, where the mount gathers itself back, I wearied, and both uncertain of

Noi salavam per una pietra fessa,
 Che si moveva d' una e d' altra parte,
 Sì come l' onda che fugge e s' appressa.
 Qui si convien usare un poco d' arte, 10
 Cominciò il Duca mio, in accostarsi
 Or quinci or quindi al lato che si parte.
 E ciò fece li nostri passi scarsi ^a
 Tanto, che pria lo scemo della Luna ^b
 Rigianse al letto suo per ricorcarsi,
 Che noi fossimo fuor di quella cruna.
 Ma quando fummo liberi ed aperti
 Su, dove il monte indietro si rauna,
 Io stancato, ed ambedue incerti

^a *E ciò fecer i n. p. W.; fecer li Cass.; E questo fece Gg.*

^b *stremo Ald. Land.*

^{8, 9} It is not necessary to suppose with Padre d' Aquino (vid. Blanc, Erklärungen) that a physical movement of the rocks is meant. Dante does not multiply miracles unnecessarily.

^{14, 15} See note to ix. 1. This moon at this age would set to the other side of the world a little before midday. They have thus occupied three hours, or thereabouts, since Dante woke (ix. 44) in reaching this point.

our way, we halted above in a level place more solitary than roads through deserts. From its rim, where the void bounds it, to the foot of the high bank which only rises, a human body would in thrice have measured; and so far as my eye could wing its flight, whether on the left or the right hand, this cornice appeared to me alike. Our feet were not yet moved thereupon, when I perceived that bank which lacked right of ascent, to be of marble all about, white, and adorned so with sculptures, that not only Polycletus, but nature herself would there have had shame. The angel

Di nostra via, ristemmo su in un piano 20
 Solingo più che strade per diserti.
 Dalla sua sponda, ove confina il vano,
 Appiè dell' alta ripa, che pur sale,
 Misurrebbe in tre volte un corpo umano :
 E quanto l' occhio mio potea trar d' ale,
 Or dal sinistro ed or dal destro fianco,
 Questa cornice mi pareva cotale.
 Lassù non eran mossi i piè nostri anco,
 Quand' io conobbi quella ripa intorno,
 Che dritto di salita aveva manco,^c 30
 Esser di marmo candido, ed adorno
 D' intagli sì, che non pur Policreto,
 Ma la natura lì avrebbe scorno.^d

^c *Che dritta di s. Gg. 3; diritta Cass.*

^d *gli avrebbe Cass. Ald.*

²³ **che pur sale**, i.e. has no slope, but rises perpendicularly.

³⁰ I.e. the inner side, where the mountain rose steeply. **dritto**, in the sense of Fr. *droit*, need present no difficulty; and this reading has the great weight of authority.

³² **intagli** seems anciently to have been used of any carving, not necessarily sunk in. Thus the Chiose call Polycletus 'uno de più sommi intagliatori del mondo.'

that came on earth with the decree of the many years wept-for peace, which opened Heaven from its long interdict, before us appeared so truly sculptured there in a gentle act, that it seemed not a mute image. One would have sworn that he said *Ave*, because there was imaged she who turned the key to open the high love. And she had upon her action this speech imprinted—*Ecce ancilla Dei!* as aptly as a figure is made on wax by a seal. ‘Fix not thy mind on one place only,’ said the sweet Master, who had me on that side where folk have the heart; wherefore I turned me with my face

L’ Angel che venne in terra col decreto
 Della molt’ anni lagrimata pace,
 Che arperse il Ciel dal suo lungo divieto,
 Dinanzi a noi pareva sì verace
 Quivi intagliato in un atto soave,
 Che non sembiava immagine che tace.
 Giurato si saria, ch’ ei dicesse *Ave*:
 Perchè quivi era immaginata quella,
 Che ad aprir l’ alto amor volse la chiave.
 Ed avea in atto impressa esta favella,
Ecce ancilla Dei, sì propriamente,
 Come figura in cera si suggella.
 Non tener pure ad un luogo la mente,
 Disse il dolce Maestro, che m’ avea
 Da quella parte, onde il core ha la gente:
 Perch’ io mi volsi col viso, e vedea °

40

° *mi mossi Gg. Cass. Land. W.*

48, 51 Observe the use of **onde**, where we should use *where*. The Italian, like the Latin, regards the *bearing* of an object from the spectator, rather than its absolute place; thus we have ‘*da man sinistra*’ (iii. 58), and in Latin, such phrases as ‘*a contumelia quam a laude propius.*’—Tacitus.

and behind Mary saw on that side where I had him who was urging me, another history placed upon the rock ; wherefore I stepped across Virgil and put myself near, so that it might be set out before my eyes. There in the very marble was there carved the car and the oxen drawing the sacred ark, whereby men fear an office not entrusted to them. Before it folk appeared ; and all of them, divided into seven choirs, caused two of my senses to say, the one 'No,' the other, 'Yes, they sing.' In like manner at the smoke of the incense which there was imaged, the eyes too and the nose became discordant in 'Yes' and 'No.' There was going before the blessed vessel, dancing, girt high, the humble

Diretro da Maria per quella costa, 50
 Onde m' era colui che mi movea,
 Un' altra storia nella roccia imposta :
 Perch' io varcai Virgilio, e femmi presso,
 Acciocchè fosse agli occhi miei disposta.
 Era intagliato lì nel marmo stesso
 Lo carro e i buoi traendo l' arca santa ;
 Perchè si teme ufficio non commesso.
 Dinanzi pareva gente ; e tutta quanta
 Partita in sette cori, a duo miei sensi
 Faceva dir : l' un No, l' altro Sì canta.^f 60
 Similmente al fummo degl' incensi,
 Che v' era immaginato, e gli occhi e il naso,
 Ed al sì ed al no discordi fensi.
 Lì precedeva al benedetto vaso,
 Trecando alzato, l' umile Salmista,

^f *Facea dicer Ald. Bi. ; Facean l' un dir Cass.*

⁵⁵ sqq. 2 Samuel, chap. vi.

⁶⁰ Cf. ix. 145.

⁶⁴ **vaso.** Cf. xxxiii. 34.

⁶⁵ Others, e.g. Bianchi, take **alzato** as = 'rising in the air' ; but

Psalmist, and more and less than king was he in that case. Portrayed opposite, at a window of a great palace, Michal was looking on, as a dame despitiful and sad. I moved my feet from the place where I was standing to look from anear at another history which gleamed white upon me behind Michal. Here was narrated the high glory of the Roman monarchy, whose worth moved Gregory to his great victory; I say of Emperor Trajan; and a poor widow was at his bridle, in attitude of tears and of grief. About him it

E più e men che re era in quel caso.
 Di contra effigiata ad una vista
 D' un gran palazzo Micol ammirava,
 Sì come donna dispettosa e trista.
 Io mossi i piè del loco dov' io stava, 70
 Per avvisar da presso un' altra storia,
 Che diretto a Micol mi biancheggiava.
 Quivi era storiata l' alta gloria
 Del Roman principato, il cui valore ^g
 Mosse Gregorio alla sua gran vittoria :
 Io dico di Traiano Imperadore :
 Ed una vedovellà gli era al freno
 Di lagrime atteggiata e di dolore.

^g *principe il cui*, or *prince lo cui*, *gran v.* Edd. after 1480.

cf. Par. xxi. 132. Here it probably represents the 'accinctus' of the Vulgate. Botticelli's illustration to this passage agrees with this view.

⁶⁷ *vista*. J. della Lana, Benvenuto, Landino, Daniello, all render by 'window'; so although Dict. Crusc. does not recognise this meaning, we can hardly be wrong in accepting it.

⁷⁵ The prayers of St. Gregory the Great were said to have freed Trajan from Hell, in recompense for this good deed. See Par. xx. 106. The story may be found in Philalethes's note, and most commentaries.

seemed trampled and full of horsemen, and the eagles in gold over him swayed, in seeming, to the wind. The poor woman among all these seemed to be saying: 'Sir, avenge me for my son who is dead, whereof I grieve my heart.' And he to answer her: 'Wait now so long until I return.' And she: 'My lord' (as a person in whom grief is urgent), 'if thou return not?' And he: 'He who will be where I am will do it for thee.' And she: 'What will another's good deed be to thee if thy own thou puttest out of mind?' Wherefore he: 'Now comfort thyself, for it behoves that

Dintorno a lui pareva calcato e pieno
 Di cavalieri, e l' aquile nell' oro ^h 80
 Sovr' esso in vista al vento si movieno.
 La miserella infra tutti costoro
 Pareva dicer: Signor, fammi vendetta
 Del mio figliuol, ch' è morto, ond' io m' accoro.
 Ed egli a lei rispondere: Ora aspetta,
 Tanto ch' io torni. E quella: Signor mio,
 Come persona in cui dolor s' affretta:
 Se tu non torni? Ed ei: Chi fia dov' io,
 La ti farà. Ed ella: L' altrui bene
 A te che fia, se il tuo metti in obbligo? 90
 Ond' elli: Or ti conforta; chè conviene

^h e aquile Gg.; dell' oro Bi. Bl.

⁸⁰ **nell' oro.** This reading seems to have far the most authority; but in spite of **al vento** it is impossible to accept the view of Benvenuto, Witte, and others that it means 'worked on a gold ground.' Dante must have known that the eagles were not banners, as sculptured representations of Roman triumphs, etc., are common. **nell' oro** for 'made of gold' (Fr. *en or*) is rare; and it is hard to account for the article. One is tempted to suggest *in alloro*, 'laurel-wreathed.'

⁸⁶ **tanto che.** See iv. 51.

I perform my duty before I move. Justice wills it, and pity holds me back.' He who never beheld a new thing drew forth this visible speech, new to us, because it is not found here.

While I was delighting myself with gazing on the images of humble deeds so great, and for their craftsman's sake, dear to behold: 'Lo on this side, but the paces they make are few,' murmured the Poet, 'are much folk; they will put us in the way to the higher steps.' My eyes, which were intent to look, for seeing new things whereof they are fain, in turning toward him were not slow. I would not, however, reader, that thou shouldest be dismayed of a good purpose,

Ch' io solva il mio dovere, anzi ch' io muova :
 Giustizia vuole, e pietà mi ritiene.
 Colui, che mai non vide cosa nuova,
 Produisse esto visibile parlare,
 Novello a noi, perchè qui non si truova.
 Mentr' io mi diletta di guardare
 L' immagini di tante umilitadi,
 E per lo fabbro loro a veder care ;
 Ecco di qua, ma fanno i passi radi, 100
 Mormorava il Poeta, molte genti :
 Questi ne invieranno agli alti gradi.ⁱ
 Gli occhi miei, ch' a mirar erano intenti,^k
 Per veder novitadi onde son vaghi,
 Volgendosi ver lui non furon lenti.
 Non vo' però, Lettor, che tu ti smaghi

ⁱ meneranno Gg.

^k eran contenti Cass. Gg. W.

¹⁰⁰ I.e. from the left, Virgil being now on that side of Dante. See note to iii. 89.

¹⁰⁶ For this meaning of **però** (*per hoc*), which appears only to occur

for hearing how God wills that the debt be paid. Think not of the form of the torment; consider that which follows, consider that beyond the great sentence it cannot turn to worse. I began: 'Master, they whom I see to move toward us seem not to me persons, and I know not what; so fail I in my sight.' And he to me: 'The grievous condition of their torment bows them so to earth that my eyes first were thereat strained. But look fixedly there, and disentangle with thy sight him who is coming below those

Di buon proponimento, per udire
 Come Dio vuol che il debito si paghi.
 Non attender la forma del martire :
 Pensa la succession : pensa che a peggio 110
 Oltre la gran sentenza non può ire.
 Io cominciai : Maestro, quei ch' io veggio
 Muover ver noi, non mi sembran persone,
 E non so che ; sì nel veder vaneggio.¹
 Ed egli a me : La grave condizione
 Di lor tormento a terra gli rannicchia,
 Sì, che i miei occhi pria n' ebber tenzone.
 Ma guarda fiso là, e disviticchia
 Col viso quel che vien sotto a quei sassi :

¹ *E non so, s' io Land. etc.*

after a negative, cf. vii. 55, xiii. 26. In Spanish it is more common; indeed, the word has come to mean simply 'but.' The connection of this meaning with the original may be seen from Eng. 'for all that.' Dante means 'do not be dismayed or despair at hearing of the penalty inflicted on even penitent sinners.'

¹¹⁰ Witte, without much authority, inserts the article before **peggio**. If this be adopted, we must understand 'the torment, at the worst, cannot last beyond the judgement.'

¹¹⁴ **vaneggio**; so **render vano**, viii. 7. Cf. xviii. 143.

¹¹⁸ **disviticchiare**, properly, to put vines aside in order to see through them.

rocks ; by now canst thou perceive how each is pinched.' O proud Christians, wretched and weary, who, weak in the sight of the mind, have confidence in your backward paces, do ye not perceive that we are worms, born to form the angelic butterfly which flies without screen to the judgement? In respect of what does your mind float on high, since ye are as it were defective insects, like a worm in which formative power is in default?

As, to support solar or roof, by way of corbel, one

Già scorger puoi come ciascun si picchia. 120
 O superbi Cristian, miseri, lassi,
 Che della vista della mente infermi,
 Fidanza avete nei ritrosi passi :
 Non v' accorgete voi che noi siam vermi,
 Nati a formar l' angelica farfalla,
 Che vola alla giustizia senza schermi ?
 Di che l' anima vostra in alto galla ?
 Poi siete quasi entomata in difetto,^m
 Sì come verme, in cui formazion falla.
 Come per sostentar solaio o tetto, 130

^m *Voi Bi. ; antom. Gg. W. ; attom. Cass.*

¹²⁰ There is another reading, **si nicchia** : 'whimpers as a woman in travail.'

¹²¹ Imitated by Petrarch, *Tri. of Fame* iii.

¹²⁶ Cf. xxi. 64-66.

¹²⁸ **entomata**. Blanc (*Erklärungen*) thinks that Dante, who was not more of a Greek scholar than others of his time, was misled by the *ἐντομα*, τὰ of a dictionary, and compares the '*autentin*' '*hormin*' of *Conv.* iv. In his Dictionary, however, he inclines to agree with Bianchi, who thinks it is formed on the analogy of *poemata*. The remark of the *Ottimo* is amusing : 'Poiche voi siete così diffettuosi, quasi antomata che è una figura in difettoso parlare.' Post. Cass. understands, *atoms*, *notes*. Benv. spells *enthomatum*, and appears to derive it from *θαύμα*.

sometimes sees a figure join the knees to the breast, the which, out of its untruth, causes a true discomfort in whoso sees it, thus saw I these shaped, when I well gave heed. True is it that they were more and less drawn together, according as they had more or less on their backs ; and he who had most endurance in his mien, weeping seemed to say: 'I can no more.'

Per mensola talvolta una figura
Si vede giunger le ginocchia al petto,
La qual fa del non ver vera rancura
Nascer a chi la vede ; così fatti
Vid' io color, quando posi ben cura.
Ver è che più e meno eran contratti,
Secondo ch' avean più e meno addosso :
E qual più pazienza avea negli atti,
Piangendo pareva dicer : Più non posso.

CANTO XI

ARGUMENT

The first circle continued. The souls, as they go along, recite the Lord's Prayer. The author talks with Umberto Aldobrandeschi, and Oderisi of Agubbio, who also shows him Provenzano Salvani.

'OUR FATHER, who in the heavens abidest, not as circumscribed, but through the greater love which Thou hast to Thy first effects on high, praised be Thy name and Thy worth by every creature, as it is meet to render thanks to Thy sweet Spirit. Let the peace of Thy kingdom come to us, for we towards it can naught of ourselves, if it comes

O PADRE nostro che nei Cieli stai,
Non circòscritto, ma per più amore,
Che ai primi effetti di lassù tu hai,^a
Laudato sia il tuo nome, e il tuo valore
Da ogni creatura, com' è degno
Di render grazie al tuo dolce vapore.
Vegna ver noi la pace del tuo regno,
Chè noi ad essa non potem da noi,
S' ella non vien, con tutto nostro ingegno.

^a *affetti Gg.*

^a **i primi effetti** : the first-created things, i.e. heaven and the angels.

not, with all our wit. As of their will Thy angels make sacrifice to Thee, chanting Hosanna, so may men do of theirs. Give this day to us the daily manna, without which through this rough desert backward he goes who most toils to go forward. And as we forgive to each man the evil which we have suffered, do Thou also graciously forgive, and not regard our merit. Our strength, which easily surrenders, put not Thou to proof with the old adversary, but deliver it from him, who so urges it. This last prayer,

Come del suo voler gli Angeli tuoi 10
 Fan sacrificio a te, cantando Osanna,
 Così facciano gli uomini dei suoi.
 Dà oggi a noi la cotidiana manna,
 Senza la qual per questo aspro deserto
 A retro va chi più di gir s' affanna.
 E come noi lo mal che avem sofferto
 Perdoniamo a ciascuno, e tu perdona
 Benigno, e non guardare al nostro merto.
 Nostra virtù che di leggier s' adona,
 Non spermentar con l' antico avversaro, 20
 Ma libera da lui, che sì la sprona.
 Quest' ultima preghiera, Signor caro,

¹⁷ It may be better to take **perdoniamo** as subj. 'as let us forgive.'

¹⁹ **adonare**. Inf. vi. 34.

²¹ **sprona**, literally 'spurs.'

²² **quest' ultima preghiera**. Blanc raises a question as to the meaning of this, and rather inclines to suppose that it refers only to the last line, thinking that the shades, though they cannot sin, are still liable to temptation. This seems far-fetched; and, besides, '*di leggier s' adona*' implies the possibility that those for whom the prayer is made may fall. There is no difficulty in the *nostra*. They say the prayer as they find it. St. Thomas, S. T. ii. 2. Q. 33. A. 1, affirms that it is of no use for us to ask souls in Purgatory for their prayers, because they

dear Lord, no longer is made for us, for it needs not, but for those who have remained behind us.' Thus praying for themselves and us good speed, these shades were all going under their load, like that which sometimes is felt in a dream, in diverse anguish, around and wearily up by the first ledge, purging away the darkness of the world. If there a good word is always spoken for us, here what can be said and done for them, by those who have a good root to their will? Surely we ought to aid them to wash the stains which they bore hence, so that clean and light they may

Già non si fa per noi, chè non bisogna ;
 Ma per color che dietro a noi restaro.
 Così a sè e noi buona ramogna
 Quell' ombre orando, andavan sotto il pondo
 Simile a quel che tal volta si sogna,
 Disparmente angosciate tutte a tondo
 E lasse su per la prima cornice,
 Purgando la caligine del mondo. 30
 Se di là sempre ben per noi si dice,
 Di quà che dire e far per lor si puote
 Da quei ch' hanno al voler buona radice ?
 Ben si dee loro aitar lavar le note,
 Che portar quinci, sì che mondi e lievi

do not know what we think or say. He does not, however, assert that they do not pray for us, so that there is not, as some have supposed, any opposition between his view and Dante's. See Hettinger, *Study of the D. C.*, trans. Bowden, p. 312.

²³ **già non** = Lat. *jam non*. So xii. 46.

²⁸ **disparmente**. See x. 136.

³³ 'Die sich nämlich im Stande der Gnade befinden, ohne die der Mensch das Gute weder zu wollen, noch zu vollbringen vermag.' Philalethes, who compares iv. 134.

issue to the starry circles. 'Pray you—so may justice and pity soon disburthen you, so that ye may be able to move the wing which is to raise you according to your desire—show us on which hand is the shortest way towards the stair; and if there is more than one passage, teach us that one which falls least steeply: for this man who comes with me, through the burthen of the flesh of Adam, wherewith he is clad, is niggard, against his will, in mounting upward.' Their words, which they returnèd to these, which he whom I was following had spoken, were not manifest from whom they came; but it was said: 'Come to the right along the bank with us, and ye shall find the pass possible for a living person to

Possano uscire alle stellate rote.
 Deh! se giustizia e pietà vi disgrevi
 Tosto, sì che possiate muover l' ala,
 Che secondo il disio vostro vi levi;
 Mostrate da qual mano inver la scala 40
 Si va più corto; e se c' è più d' un varco,
 Quel ne insegnate, che men erto cala:
 Chè questi che vien meco, per l' incarco
 Della carne d' Adamo, onde si veste,
 Al montar su contra sua voglia è parco.
 Le lor parole, che rendero a queste
 Che dette avea colui cu' io seguiva,
 Non fur da cui venisser manifeste:
 Ma fu detto: A man destra per la riva
 Con noi venite, e troverete il passo 50
 Possibile a salir persona viva.

³⁶ *rote*. So viii. 18.

⁴⁵ *parco*. *Parcus* with inf. in this sense belongs to late Latin; e.g. *Silius Italicus*.

⁵¹ The construction is remarkable, and can only be explained by

ascend. And if I were not hindered by the stone which quells my proud neck, whence it behoves me to bear my face low, this man who yet lives, and names not himself, would I gaze upon, to see if I know him, and to make him pitiful to this burthen. I was Latin, and born of a great Tuscan: William Aldobrandeschi was my father; I know not if his name was ever with you. The ancient blood and the fair deeds of my ancestors made me so arrogant, that not thinking of the common mother, I had every man so deeply in despite that of it I died, as they of Siena know, and

E s' io non fossi impedito dal sasso,
 Che la cervice mia superba doma,
 Onde portar conviemmi il viso basso :
 Cotesti che ancor vive, e non si noma,
 Guardere' io, per veder s' io il conosco,
 E per farlo pietoso a questa soma.
 Io fui Latino, e nato d' un gran Tosco :
 Guglielmo Aldobrandeschi fu mio padre :
 Non so se il nome suo giammai fu vosco. 60
 L' antico sangue e l' opere leggiadre
 Dei miei maggior mi fer sì arrogante,
 Che non pensando alla comune madre,
 Ogni uomo ebbi in dispetto tanto avanti,
 Ch' io ne mori', come i Sanesi sanno,

regarding **salir persona viva** as one verb. See Diez (who, however, gives no exact parallel) iii. 231.

⁵⁸ **Latino** = Italian. So xiii. 92, Inf. xxii. 65, and elsewhere. So Benv. in his note to xxvi. 140: 'quasi dicat Latine *m' abbellisce*,' etc.

⁵⁹ The Aldobrandeschi were counts of Santafore (vi. 111), and in a state of chronic hostility to the Sienese. Humbert, the speaker, was murdered in the year 1259, at his castle of Campagnatico, by some men of Siena. Campagnatico and Santafore are both in the modern province of Grosseto, formerly the Sienese Maremma.

every child in Campagnatico knows it. I am Humbert ; and not only to me did pride work loss, seeing that all my consorts has she drawn with her into disaster. And here it behoves that I carry this weight on her account, until God is satisfied, here among the dead, since I did it not among the living.'

Listening, I bent my face downward, and one of them (not he who was speaking) twisted himself beneath the weight which hampers him ; and saw me, and knew me, and called me, holding with labour his eyes fixed on me, who, all bowed, was going with them. 'Oh,' said I to him, 'art thou not Oderisi, the honour of Agubbio, and

E sallo in Campagnatico ogni fante.
 Io sono Umberto : e non pure a me danno
 Superbia fe, che tutti i miei consorti
 Ha ella tratti seco nel malanno :
 E qui convien ch' io questo peso porti 70
 Per lei, tanto che a Dio si soddisfaccia,
 Poi ch' io nol fei tra i vivi, qui tra i morti.
 Ascoltando chinai in giù la faccia :
 Ed un di lor, non questi che parlava,
 Si torse sotto il peso, che lo impaccia :
 E videmi e conobbemi e chiamava,
 Tenendo gli occhi con fatica fisi
 A me, che tutto chin con loro andava.
 O, dissi lui, non sei tu Oderisi,

⁶⁶ **fante.** Bianchi thinks it means here 'grown-up person'; but the word undoubtedly may mean 'child,' and this seems to give by far the most effective sense here.

⁷⁸ Notice that Dante has to undergo a part at least of the punishment proper to this circle, and compare xiii. 136, 137 ; also xvi. 1-7, and xxvii. 49-51.

⁷⁹ Oderisi of Agubbio and (⁸³) Franco, Bolognese are mentioned by Vasari in his Life of Giotto, where this passage is quoted. He testifies from his own observation to the superiority of Franco.

the honour of that art which is called *illuminating* in Paris? 'Brother,' said he, 'more smile the parchments which Franco of Bologna pencils; the honour is now his wholly, and mine in part. Be sure I should not have been so courteous while I lived, for the great desire of excelling whereon my heart was intent. Of such pride here is paid the fee; and even here I should not be, if it were not that while I had the power to sin I turned to God. O vain glory of human powers, how little time does it

L' onor d' Agobbio, e l' onor di quell' arte 80
 Che alluminare è chiamata in Parisi?
 Frate, diss' egli, più ridon le carte,^b
 Che pennelleggia Franco Bolognese:
 L' onore è tutto or suo, e mio in parte.
 Ben non sare' io stato sì cortese
 Mentre ch' io vissi, per lo gran disio
 Dell' eccellenza, ove mio core intese.
 Di tal superbia qui si paga il fio:
 Ed ancor non sarei qui, se non fosse^c
 Che, possendo peccar, mi volsi a Dio. 90
 O vana gloria dell' umane posse,

^b *diss' ei per più Gg.*

^c *C' ancor non sarei io qui Gg.*

⁸¹ **alluminare**, Fr. *enluminer*, whence Eng. *linn*. The Italian word is *miniare*, from *minium*, red lead, whence '*miniature*.' It may be remarked that Dante's rendering of the French word shows the pronunciation of Fr. *en* to have been the same then as now.

⁸⁴ 'My honour only remains as a part of his.' Vellutello says that Franco was Oderisi's pupil; but there does not seem to be any evidence for this, and Vasari's statement that they were employed at the same time by the Pope (Boniface VIII.) is against it. 'La mia fama appena si conserva e la sua è ora in capo.'—Ott. It is hard not to suppose that the **e mio in parte** is a little natural touch; the old instinct of pride has not yet quite yielded to the purificatory discipline.

⁹⁰ Cf. xxiii. 79.

remain green on its top, if it be not overtaken by uncouth ages! Cimabue thought to hold the field in painting; and now Giotto has the cry, so that he obscures the fame of him. Thus has one Guido from the other taken the

Com' poco verde in su la cima dura,^d
 Se non è giunta dall' etadi grosse!
 Credette Cimabue nella pintura
 Tener lo campo: ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
 Sì che la fama di colui oscura.^e
 Così ha tolto l' uno all' altro Guido

^d *Con poco Cass.—? in la sua cima.*

^e *è oscura Gg. 124 W. ; è scura Cass. 3.*

⁹² Some read *il verde*, but the art. seems unnecessary. Cf. Inf. xxiv. 6.

⁹³ I.e. unless it happen to be followed by an age less cultivated. **giunta**=*sopraggiunta*, as in Inf. xxii. 126.

^{94, 95} It is not necessary to speak of Cimabue and Giotto. Villani does not mention the former, but he records Giotto's death (xi. 12) calling him 'il più sovrano maestro stato in dipintura che si trovasse al suo tempo, e quegli che più trasse ogni figura e atti al naturale.' He died Jan. 8, 1337. The date of Cimabue's death is given by Vasari as 1300. If so, it must have been later in the year than the supposed date of Dante's journey, as otherwise Dante would hardly have failed to introduce him, and, judging from the character assigned to him, in this very circle. See the commentator (Ottimo) on this passage, quoted by Vasari.

⁹⁷ Blanc takes the usual view that the allusion is to Guido Guinicelli (xxvi. 92; Conv. iv. 20; Vulg. El. i. 9; 15, where he is called *maximus*; ii. 5, etc.), and Guido Cavalcanti (Inf. x. 63, Vulg. El. i. 13, and elsewhere), Dante's most intimate friend. The difficulty of this interpretation, as Philalethes has pointed out, lies in the fact that Guido Cavalcanti's reputation does not seem to have been so great as that would imply. There seems more likelihood that Guittone d'Arezzo (xxiv. 56; xxvi. 124; Vulg. El. ii. 6) is the **altro**, and Guinicelli the **uno**. It is evident from the passages referred to that Dante considered Guittone a much overrated poet, and that he held Guinicelli in great

glory of the language; and perhaps he is born who will chase the one and the other from the nest. The rumour of the world is naught else than a breath of wind, which now comes hence and now comes thence, and changes name because it changes quarter. What fame wilt thou have more, if when it is old thou loose from thee thy flesh, than if thou hadst died before thou hadst left off thy child's prattle, ere a thousand years are past? which beside the eternal is a shorter space than is a movement of the eyelid beside the circle which in heaven

La gloria della lingua : e forse è nato
 Chi l' uno e l' altro caccerà di nido.
 Non è il mondan romore altro ch' un fiato 100
 Di vento, ch' or vien quinci, ed or vien quindi,
 E muta nome, perchè muta lato.
 Che fama avrai tu più, se vecchia scindi^f
 Da te la carne, che se fossi morto
 Innanzi che lasciassi il pappo e il dindi,^g
 Pria che passin mill' anni? ch' è più corto
 Spazio all' eterno, che un muover di ciglia,
 Al cerchio che più tardi in cielo è torto.

^f *Che voce Gg. Cass. 12345.*

^g *Anzi che tu la. Gg. Cass. 12345.*

esteem. The date of Guittone's death is uncertain. Guinicelli died 1276, and Cavalcanti 1300. On the other side, however, must be set Petrarch's mention of 'i duo Guidi' (Tri. An. iv. 34). But Petrarch had not read Dante with much attention.

⁹⁹ That Dante himself is indicated here can hardly be doubted.

¹⁰⁰ sqq. Cf. Boethius, Cons. Phil. ii. 7: 'Vos autem immortalitatem vobis propagare videmini, cum futuri famam temporis cogitatis. Quod si ad aeternitatis spatia pertractes, quid habes, quod de tui nominis diuturnitate laeteris?'

¹⁰⁵ **pappo** and **dindi**, childish for *padre* and *danari*. Cf. Inf. xxxii. 9.

¹⁰⁸ The circle of the ecliptic. Philalethes thinks **più tardi è torto**

turns the slowest. Of him who is taking the road so slowly in front of me, all Tuscany resounded, and now hardly in Siena do they whisper of him, whereof he was lord when the Florentine rage was destroyed, which was as proud at that time as now it is vile. Your reputation is as hue of grass, which comes and goes, and he discolours it, through whose power it came forth unripe from the ground.' And I to him: 'Thy true tale puts in my heart a good humility, and brings low in me a great pride; but who is that of

Colui, che del cammin sì poco piglia
 Dinanzi a me, Toscana sonò tutta, 110
 Ed ora a pena in Siena senispiglia;
 Ond' era Sire, quando fu distrutta
 La rabbia Fiorentina, che superba
 Fu a quel tempo, sì com' ora è putta.
 La vostra nominanza è color d' erba,
 Che viene e va, e quei la discolora,
 Per cui ell' esce della terra acerba.
 Ed io a lui: Lo tuo ver dir m' incuora
 Buona umiltà, e gran tumor m' appiani:

means 'for a given length of arc separates least from its tangent,' but this seems unnecessarily abstruse. See, however, xiii. 6. The astronomy of Dante's age put the revolution of the starry heaven, i.e. the cycle of the precession of the equinoxes, at 36,000 years. It is really 26,000. This motion must not, of course, be confused with the *diurnal* movement, which is greater in proportion to the distance from the centre.

¹⁰⁹ I have followed Blanc and Bianchi. Philalethes renders 'welcher hier vor mir vom Weg so wenig zurücklegt.' It might be 'who is taking the road such a short distance in front of me.'

¹¹⁴ Blanc makes a difficulty about *putta*, thinking the opposition not exact enough. But cf. vi. 78. The allusion is to the battle of Montaperti; Villani (vi. 78), evidently with a reference to this passage, says, Guelf as he is, 'così s' adonò la rabbia dell' ingrato e superbo popolo di Firenze.'

¹¹⁶ *quei*, the sun; and so, the lapse of time.

whom thou but now spakest?' 'That is,' he answered, 'Provenzano Salvani, and he is here, because he was presumptuous to bring Siena wholly into his hands. He has gone so, and goes without repose since he died. Such coin pays in satisfaction he who yonder is too daring.' And I: 'If that spirit which awaits, before it repents, the edge of life, tarries down there and ascends not hither, if kindly prayer aid it not, until so long a time has passed as it lived, how was the entrance allowed to him?' 'When he was living in greatest glory,' said he, 'freely in the open place

Ma chi è quei, di cui tu parlavi ora? 120
 Quegli è, rispose, Provenzan Salvani,
 Ed è qui, perchè fu presuntuoso
 A recar Siena tutta alle sue mani.
 Ito è così, e va senza riposo,
 Poi che morì: cotal moneta rende
 A soddisfar, chi è di là tropp' oso.
 Ed io: Se quello spirito che attende,
 Pria che si penta, l' orlo della vita,
 Laggiù dimora, e quassù non ascende,
 Se buona orazion lui non aita, 130
 Prima che passi tempo, quanto visse,
 Come fu la venuta a lui largita?
 Quando vivea più glorioso, disse,

¹²¹ Provenzano Salvani was killed when the Florentines, with the help of some of Charles of Anjou's Frenchmen, defeated a mixed force of Sienese, Germans, and Spaniards at Colle in Valdelsa, June 11, 1269. See Villani vii. 31, who says, 'Questo messere Provenzano fu grande uomo in Siena al suo tempo dopo la vittoria, ch' ebbe a Montaperti . . . e era molto presuntuoso di sua volontà.' His unpopularity in Siena is referred to ib. vi. 77.

¹³⁰ See iv. 133.

¹³³ sqq. The friend's name was Vigna. He was captured at the

of Siena, all shame laid aside, he took his stand; and there, to draw his friend from punishment which he was enduring in the prison of Charles, he brought himself to tremble through every vein. More I will not say, and I know that I speak darkly; but little time will pass that thy neighbours shall so do, that thou shalt be able to expound it. This work cleared for him those boundaries.'

Liberamente nel campo di Siena,
Ogni vergogna deposta, s' affisse :
E lì, per trar l' amico suo di pena,
Che sostenea nella prigion di Carlo,
Si condusse a tremar per ogni vena.
Più non dirò, e scuro so che parlo :
Ma poco tempo andrà che i tuoi vicini 140
Faranno sì che tu potrai chiosarlo.
Quest' opera gli tolse quei confini.

battle of Tagliacozzo, and held to ransom at 10,000 florins by Charles of Anjou. Provenzano raised the money by begging in the market-place of Siena. (Ottimo, quoted by Philalethes : Landino.)

CANTO XII

ARGUMENT

The first circle continued. They come to a place where all the way is paved with stones whereon notable examples of pride and its fall are represented. At last they see an angel, who shows them the road by which to ascend to the second circle. The first mark disappears from Dante's forehead.

PAIRED, as oxen that go in the yoke, was I going with that burthened soul, so long as my sweet guardian suffered it. But when he said : ' Leave him and pass on, for here it is good with the sail and with the oars, as much as each is able, to urge his boat,' I made myself again as upright as to walk requires, with my outward form ; albeit my thoughts

DI pari, come buoi che vanno a giogo,
M' andava io con quella anima carca,
Fin che il sofferse il dolce pedagogo.
Ma quando disse : Lascia lui e varca,
Chè qui è buon con la vela e coi remi,^a
Quantunque può ciascun, pinger sua barca :
Dritto sì, come andar vuoi, rife' mi
Con la persona, avvegna che i pensieri

" buon collali Gg. (alt.)

⁷ **vuolsi.** So xiii. 18, xxiii. 6, and elsewhere. The meaning is different from Lat. 'sibi vult.'

remained both bowed low and brought down. I had moved, and was following willingly the steps of my Master, and both of us were already showing how nimble we were ; when he said to me : ' Turn thy eyes downward ; it will be good for thee, for easing of the way, to behold that whereon thy soles are laid.'

As in order that there be memory of them, above buried folk the mounds of earth bear designed that which they once were, whence tears are often shed there again, by reason of the prick of remembrance, which only to the pious gives the spur ; so figured, but of better semblance, according to the craftsmanship, saw I there all that which

Mi rimanessero e chinati e scemi.
 Io m' era mosso, e seguia volentieri 10
 Del mio Maestro i passi, ed amendue
 Già mostravam come eravam leggieri,
 Quando mi disse : Volgi gli occhi in giue :
 Buon ti sarà, per tranquillar la via,^b
 Veder lo letto delle piante tue.
 Come perchè di lor memoria sia,
 Sovr' ai sepolti le tombe terragne
 Portan segnato quel ch' elli eran pria :
 Onde lì molte volte se ne piagne,
 Per la puntura della rimembranza, 20
 Che solo ai pii dà delle calcagne :
 Sì vid' io lì, ma di miglior sembianza,
 Secondo l' artificio, figurato

^b *per alleggiar Ald. Land. Bi. Bl.*

¹² **leggieri**, as having nothing to carry, says Philaethes.

²³ **secondo l' artificio**. Bianchi and Fraticelli seem right in understanding this to refer to the Divine handiwork of the figures. Others take it as merely = 'better as regards workmanship.'—**figurato**. The

for road projects forth from the mountain. I saw him who was created noble more than any other creature fall like lightning from heaven, on one side. I saw Briareus, pierced by the celestial dart, lie on the other side, weighed to the earth by the chill of death. I saw Thymbraeus, I saw Pallas and Mars, armed yet around their father, gaze on the strewn limbs of the giants. I saw Nimrod at the foot of his great toil, as though bewildered, and the nations looking on who were proud with him in Shinar. O Niobe, with what

Quanto per via di fuor dal monte avanza.
 Vedeà colui che fu nobil creato
 Più ch' altra creatura, giù dal cielo
 Folgoreggiando scendere da un lato.
 Vedeva Briareo fitto dal telo
 Celestial giacer dall' altra parte,
 Grave alla terra per lo mortal gielo. 30
 Vedeà Timbreo, vedeà Pallade e Marte,
 Armati ancora intorno al padre loro,
 Mirar le membra dei giganti sparte.
 Vedeà Nembrotto appiè del gran lavoro,
 Quasi smarrito, e riguardar le genti
 Che in Sennaar con lui superbi foro.

resemblance to the famous pavement of the Duomo of Siena which has struck many readers must be accidental, as that was probably not begun till after Dante's death, and certainly could not have been seen by him. Bianchi remarks that the sculptures on the wall are instances of humility, while pride is figured on the ground only.

²⁵ *colui*. S. Luke x. 18. The other instances of defeated pride which follow are all familiar. It will be observed that they are taken alternately from sacred and profane story. Notice also the structure of the whole passage, broken into three groups of four, each distinguished by its initial word; the whole being as it were summed up in the lines 61-63.

³⁶ So Vulg. El. i. 7.

weeping eyes saw I thee portrayed on the road, amid seven and seven of thy children slain! O Saul, how on thy own sword there appearedst thou dead on Gilboa, which thenceforth felt not rain nor dew! O foolish Arachne, so saw I thee, already half-spider, sad upon the tatters of the work which to thy hurt was wrought. O Rehoboam, there no longer appears thy image to threaten; but full of terror a chariot bears it away before another pursue it. The hard pavement showed moreover how Alcmaeon made appear costly to his mother her luckless adornment. It showed how his sons threw themselves on Sennacherib within the

O Niobe, con che occhi dolenti
 Vedeva io te segnata in su la strada
 Tra sette e sette tuoi figliuoli spenti!
 O Saul, come in su la propria spada 40
 Quivi parevi morto in Gelboe,
 Che poi non sentì pioggia, nè rugiada!
 O folle Aragne, sì vedea io te,
 Già mezza aragna, trista in su gli stracci
 Dell' opera che mal per te si fe!
 O Roboam, già non par che minacci
 Quivi il tuo segno: ma pien di spavento
 Nel porta un carro prima che altri il cacci.
 Mostrava ancora il duro pavimento
 Come Almeone a sua madre fe caro 50
 Parer lo sventurato adornamento.
 Mostrava come i figli si gittaro
 Sovra Sennacherib dentro dal tempio,

⁵⁰ Alcmaeon slew his mother Eriphyle, because, persuaded by the bribe of a necklace, she had betrayed to Polynices the hiding-place of her husband Amphiaraus, so that he went to Thebes and was killed. Stat. Theb. ii. and iv., Hom. Od. xi. 326-7.

temple, and how they left that place when he was dead. It showed the ruin and the cruel example which Tomyris made when she said to Cyrus: 'For blood thou hast thirsted, and with blood I fill thee.' It showed how the Assyrians fled in rout after that Holofernes was dead, and also the remnants of the slaughter. I saw Troy in ashes and in pits; O Ilion, how base and vile showed thee the image which is there discerned! What master was ever of pencil and of graving-tool to have portrayed the shadows and their

E come morto lui quivi lasciaro.
 Mostrava la ruina e il crudo scempio
 Che fe Tamiri, quando disse a Ciro;
 Sangue sitisti, ed io di sangue t' empio.
 Mostrava come in rotta si fuggiro^c
 Gli Assiri, poi che fu morto Oloferne,
 Ed anche le reliquie del martiro. 60
 Vedeva Troia in cenere e in caverne:
 O Ilion, come te basso e vile
 Mostrava il segno che lì si discerne!
 Qual di pennel fu maestro e di stile,

^c *frotta Gg.*

⁵⁴ N.B. **quivi** as substantive: cf. xxi. 43.

⁵⁵⁻⁵⁷ From Orosius ii. 7. As he gives the words of Tomyris, they were: *Satia te sanguine quem sitisti.*

⁶⁰ **le reliquie del martiro.** Blanc and Philaethes take this to mean the corpse of Holofernes; Vellutello, Bianchi, and Fraticelli, those of the Assyrians.

⁶¹ **pennel e stile**; showing, as Blanc points out, that these pictures were engraved, not raised, as Doré has represented them. Philaethes seems to think that the meaning is, 'Who could reproduce them?' but it clearly is, 'What artist has there ever been who could have done them?' For the constr. see Diez iii. 346. Lat. 'Quis fuit qui depingeret?'

lineaments which there would make to wonder every subtile intellect? The dead appeared dead, and the living living; he who saw the reality saw not better than I all that I walked upon, so long as I went bowed. Now be proud, and forward with haughty visage, ye sons of Eve, and bow not your face so as to see your evil path.

More of the mountain had already been passed round by us, and of the sun's road far more spent than the mind not at leisure estimated; when he who always went in front attentive began: 'Raise upright thy head; there is no longer time to go bending thus. See there an angel who is making ready to come toward us; see how the sixth hand-

Che ritraesse l' ombre e i tratti, ch' ivi ^d
 Mirar farieno ogni ingegno sottile?
 Morti li morti, e i vivi parean vivi:
 Non vide me' di me chi vide il vero,
 Quant' io calcai fin che chinato givi.
 Or superbite, e via col viso altiero, 70
 Figliuoli d' Eva, e non chinate il volto,
 Sì che veggiate il vostro mal sentiero.
 Più era già per noi del monte volto,
 E del cammin del Sole assai più speso,
 Che non stimava l' animo non sciolto;
 Quando colui che sempre innanzi atteso
 Andava, cominciò: Drizza la testa:
 Non è più tempo da gir sì sospeso.
 Vedi colà un' Angel, che s' appresta,
 Per venir verso noi: vedi che torna 80

^d *gli atti Bi.*

^{68, 69} Symbolically, humility must precede knowledge of the truth.

⁷⁵ Cf. iv. 9, 12 sqq.

maid is returning from the service of the day. Adorn with reverence thy acts and thy face, so that it may please him to put us in the upward way; think that this day never dawns again.' I was well used to his admonitions, above all not to lose time, so that in that matter he could not speak darkly to me. To us came the fair creature, clad in white, and in his face such as appears in its quivering gleam a star of morning. He spread his arms, and then spread his wings. He said: 'Come: here are the steps hard by, and easily from henceforth one ascends.' To this bidding

Dal servizio del dì l' ancella sesta.
 Di riverenza gli atti e il viso adorna,
 Sì che il diletto lo inviarci in suso :
 Pensa che questo dì mai non raggiorna.
 Io era ben del suo ammonir uso,
 Pur di non perder tempo, sì che in quella
 Materia non potea parlarmi chiuso.
 A noi venia la creatura bella
 Bianco vestita, e nella faccia quale
 Par tremolando mattutina stella. 90
 Le braccia aperse, ed indi aperse l' ale :
 Disse : Venite ; qui son presso i gradi,
 Ed agevolmente omai si sale.
 A questo invito vengon molto radi :^e

^e *annunzio Gg. Cass. Ald. Land. etc.*

⁸¹ It is now past noon. They have therefore been about an hour in this circle. See x. 14 sqq. It will be found that of no other circle, except the 7th, does the passage occupy so short a time. This is accounted for by the fact that in these they never stay to converse, but talk to the souls as they go.

⁹⁴⁻⁹⁶ Blanc, differing from most commentators, regards these lines as Dante's own remark, and not the continuation of the angel's words.

come they very scant ; O race of men, born to fly upward, why at a little wind fall ye so down ? He led us where the rock was cut ; there he beat his wings over my forehead ; then he promised me my journey secure.

As on the right hand, to mount to the hill where stands the church which above Rubaconte overhangs the well-

O gente umana, per volar su nata,
 Perchè a poco vento così cadì ?
 Menocci ove la roccia era tagliata :
 Quivi mi battè l' ali per la fronte,
 Poi mi promise sicura l' andata.
 Come a man destra, per salire al monte 100
 Dove siede la chiesa, che soggioga
 La ben guidata sopra Rubaconte,

Landino, however, says, 'le parole possono essere e dell' angelo e del poeta,' the meaning of which is not very obvious. I have followed Blanc, as there is no other instance of any reflection of the kind being made by any of the angels who point out the way. As to the reading of l. 94, *annunzio* has perhaps most authority, but *invito* makes so much the best sense that I have followed Witte and Bianchi in adopting it. It may be said, too, that *invito* may easily have been read *nunto*, from which the step to *annunzio* is short ; whereas no contrary process is likely to have taken place.

⁹⁶ Blanc's interpretation of this line seems more questionable. *vento* has been almost universally taken to mean the wind of vain-glory, as in xi. 100 ; he, however, compares S. Matt. xiv. 30, as though want of faith were the cause of the frequent failures of men to rise on high. But looking to x. 125, as well as the passage referred to above, there seems little doubt that the usual is also the correct interpretation.

¹⁰¹ *chiesa*. Samminiato.

¹⁰² *la ben guidata*, ironically of Florence. *Rubaconte* ; the bridge now called Ponte alle Grazie. It was built in 1237, the first stone being laid by Messer Rubaconte da Mandello of Milan, then *Podestà*. Villani vi. 26.

guided city, one breaks the bold steepness of the ascent by the steps that were made at an age when the quire and the bushel were safe ; so grows gentler the slope which here falls very steep from the second circle ; but on this hand and on that the lofty rock grazes. We turning there our bodies, *Beati pauperes spiritu* sang voices in such wise that speech would not tell it. O how different are these passages to those of hell, for here one enters through chants, and down there through fierce laments.

We were already mounting up by the holy stairs, and I

Si rompe del montar l'ardita foga,
 Per le scalee, che si fero ad etade,
 Ch'era sicuro il quaderno e la doga ;
 Così s'allenta la ripa che cade
 Quivi ben ratta dall'altro girone :
 Ma quinci e quindi l'alta pietra rade.
 Noi volgendo ivi le nostre persone,
Beati pauperes spiritu, voci
 Cantaron sì, che nol diria sermone.
 Ah! quanto son diverse quelle foci
 Dall'infernali ! chè quivi per canti
 S'entra, e laggiù per lamenti feroci.
 Già montavam su per li scaglioni santi,

110

¹⁰⁵ **il quaderno e la doga.** In 1299 Messer Niccola Acciaiuoli and Messer Baldo d'Aguglione (Par. xvi. 56) abstracted from the public records a leaf containing the evidence of a disreputable transaction, in which they, together with the Podestà, had been engaged. At about the same time Messer Durante de' Chiaramontesi, being officer of the customs for salt, took away a stave (*doga*) from the standard measure, thus making it smaller (see Par. xvi. 105). Both the Acciaiuoli and the Chiaramontesi were Guelfs, and hence perhaps it is that Villani says nothing about these matters. It is to be noticed, however, that he makes no mention of the Podestà on the occasion of the founding of the walls of Florence in 1299. (Bk. viii. 31.)

seemed to myself far more light than on the level I had seemed before ; wherefore I : ' Master, say what heavy thing has been lifted from me, that scarce any weariness is found by me in going ? ' He answered : ' When the P's which still remain on thy forehead almost extinct, shall be, as one has been, wholly erased, thy feet will be so overcome of goodwill, that not only will they not feel weariness, but it will be a delight to them to be urged upward.' Then did I, as those who go with something on their head not known to them, save that the gestures of another make them

Ed esser mi pareo troppo più lieve,
 Che per lo pian non mi pareo davanti :
 Ond' io : Maestro, di', qual cosa greve
 Levata s' è da me, che nulla quasi
 Per me fatica andando si riceve ? 120
 Rispose : Quando i P, che son rimasi
 Ancor nel volto tuo presso che stinti,
 Saranno, come l' un, del tutto rasi,
 Fien li tuoi piè dal buon voler sì vinti,
 Che non pur non fatica sentiranno,
 Ma fia diletto loro esser su pinti.
 Allor fec' io come color, che vanno
 Con cosa in capo non da lor saputa,
 Se non che i cenni altrui sospicar fanno :

¹²⁰ For this use of *per* equiv. to Latin *ab* with abl. see Diez iii. 162, and cf. iii. 75, xv. 8, etc. So Germ. *durch*.

¹²² Because pride being gone, the original root of sin (according to the theologians) has been taken away, and the other sins tend to become extinct. See Aquinas S. T. ii. 2. Q. 162 (where he quotes Eccclus. x. 13), especially Art. 7 : ' Superbia causat gravitatem aliorum peccatorum,' and ' inter graviora peccata primum est superbia, sicut causa per quam alia peccata aggravantur.'

suspect ; wherefore the hand gives its aid to ascertain, and searches and finds, and fulfils that service which cannot be rendered by the sight ; and with the fingers of my right spread out I found to be six only the letters which he of the keys carved on me above the temples ; looking whereat my Leader smiled.

Perchè la mano ad accertar s' aiuta, 130
E cerca e trova, e quell' ufficio adempie,
Che non si può fornir per la veduta :
E con le dita della destra scempie
Trovai pur sei le lettere, che incise
Quel dalle chiavi a me sovra le tempie :
A che guardando il mio Duca sorrise.

CANTO XIII

ARGUMENT

The poets reach the second circle, wherein the sin of Envy is purged. At first they see no man, but presently they hear voices, calling to mind examples of the contrary virtue, and exhorting to it. Then they come upon the shades, who sit along the rock, clad in hair-shirts, and having their eyelids sewn up with iron thread. Dante talks with Sapia, a lady of Siena.

WE were at the summit of the stair where a second time is cut back the mount which by its ascent frees any from ill; there a cornice binds around the steep, in like manner as the first, save that its arc more quickly bends. Shade

Noi eravamo al sommo della scala,
Ove secondamente si risega^a
Lo monte, che salendo altrui dismala.
Ivi così una cornice lega
Dintorno il poggio, come la primaia,
Se non che l' arco suo più tosto piega.

^a *rilega* Gg. 12345.

³ **altrui**, as in Inf. ii. 89, or in iv. 54; 'any other,' i.e. than the subject of the verb, so 'any one.'

⁶ This phrase to some extent bears out Philaethes' interpretation of xi. 108, q.v.

there is not, nor image that may appear, so bare appears the bank, so bare the way, with the livid hue of the rock. 'If here one awaits folk to inquire,' reasoned the Poet, 'I fear that perhaps our selection may have too much delay.' Then he directed his eyes fixedly to the sun; he made of his right side centre to his movement, and turned the left part of himself. 'O sweet light, in whose confidence I enter by the new road, do thou conduct us,' said he, 'as one would be conducted herewithin; thou warmest the

Ombra non gli è nè segno che si paia :
 Par sì la ripa, e par sì la via schietta,
 Col livido color della petraia.
 Se qui per dimandar gente s' aspetta, 10
 Ragionava il Poeta, io temo forse
 Che troppo avrà d' indugio nostra eletta :
 Poi fisamente al Sole gli occhi porse :
 Fece del destro lato al muover centro,
 E la sinistra parte di sè torse.
 O dolce lume, a cui fidanza io entro
 Per lo nuovo cammin, tu ne conduci,
 Dicea, come condur si vuol quinc' entro :^b

^b *qui dentro Gg.*

⁷ **ombra.** Does this mean 'shades' in the usual sense, or pictures? Landino is undecided; Philalethes leaves it open. Buti, Bianchi, and others take the latter view. Vellutello says 'Cioè non era anima,' and Blanc agrees in his *Erklärungen* (though taking the other view in his *Dictionary*), comparing x. 21. Besides, Virgil's next remark distinctly requires it, in order to be apposite. **segno**=Lat. *signum*; the reason of the absence of these is plain, as the shades would be unable to see them.

⁹ Bianchi takes **col** to be contracted from *come il*; but this seems unnecessary.

livido; *lividus* in Latin is almost oftener used as=*envious* than in its literal sense.

world, thou shinest over it ; if other reason urges not to the contrary, thy rays ought to be always guides.'

As much as one reckons here for a mile distance, so much further were we already gone, in a short time, through the eagerness of our will. And towards us were heard, not however seen, to fly, spirits speaking courteous bidding to the table of love. The first voice that passed in its flight said in loud tone : *Vinum non habent*, and went repeating it behind us. And before it was wholly unheard through growing distant, another passed, crying : 'I am Orestes,' and also did not stay. 'O,' said I, 'Father,

Tu scaldi il mondo, tu sovr' esso luci :
 S' altra ragione in contrario non pronta,^c 20
 Esser den sempre li tuoi raggi duci.
 Quanto di quà per un migliaio si conta,
 Tanto di là noi eravam già iti
 Con poco tempo, per la voglia pronta :
 E verso noi volar furon sentiti,
 Non però visti, spiriti, parlando
 Alla mensa d' amor cortesi inviti.
 La prima voce, che passò volando,
Vinum non habent, altamente disse,
 E dietro a noi l' andò reiterando. 30
 E prima che del tutto non s' udisse
 Per allungarsi, un' altra : I' sono Oreste,
 Passò gridando, ed anche non s' affisse.
 O, diss' io, Padre, che voci son queste ?

^c *cagione Ald. Land. Bi.*

^{22, 23} Observe that **di quà** and **di là** are not in this case correlative.

²⁶ **però**, as in vii. 55.

³² The words, of course, are those of Pylades, in the well-known story. Dante may have got it from Cic. de Am. § 24.

what voices are these?’ And as I asked, lo, the third, saying: ‘Love them from whom ye have evil.’ The good Master: ‘This circle scourges the sin of envy, and therefore are the lashes of the scourge wielded by love. The rein will have to be of the contrary sound; I think that thou wilt hear it, in my judgement, before thou reachest the passage of pardon. But fix thine eyes intently through the air, and thou wilt see folk sitting in front of us, and each one is seated along the cliff.’ Then I opened my eyes more than before; I looked before me, and saw shades with cloaks not different to the colour of the rock. And

E com' io dimandai, ecco la terza,
 Dicendo: Amate, da cui male aveste.
 Lo buon Maestro: Questo cinghio sferza
 La colpa della invidia, e però sono
 Tratte da amor le corde della ferza.
 Lo fren vuol esser del contrario suono: 40
 Credo che l' udirai, per mio avviso,
 Prima che giunghi al passo del perdono.
 Ma ficca gli occhi per l' aere ben fiso,
 E vedrai gente innanzi a noi sedersi,
 E ciascun è lungo la grotta assiso.
 Allora più che prima gli occhi apersi;
 Guardai mi innanzi, e vidi ombre con manti
 Al color della pietra non diversi.

⁴⁰ **vuol esser** is nearly equivalent to *sarà*, but the **vuol** is rather more than a mere auxiliary; it is almost exactly=Germ. *muss*. So Villani uses ‘vollero esser presi,’ ‘were going to be taken.’ The use is noticed by Corticelli, who explains it as equivalent to *essere per essere*. Dante uses the figure of the rein and the spur (corresponding to the whip here) in Conv. iv. 26.

⁴⁸ **diversi al.** So Inf. ix. 12. The construction is equivalent to the

after that we were a little more forward I heard them cry : ' Mary, pray for us ! ' cry ' Michael, ' and ' Peter, ' and all the saints. I do not believe that there goes on the earth this day a man so hard, that he were not pricked by compassion for those whom I next saw ; for when I had arrived so near them that their actions came clearly to me, the tears were drawn from my eyes for heavy grief. They appeared to me covered with common hair-cloth, and one was supporting another with his shoulder, and all were supported by the bank. Thus blind men, to whom sub-

E poi che fummo un poco più avanti,
 Udi' gridar : Maria, ora per noi ; 50
 Gridar, Michele, e Pietro, e tutti i Santi.
 Non credo, che per terra vada ancoi
 Uomo sì duro, che non fosse punto
 Per compassion di quei ch' io vidi poi :
 Chè quando fui sì presso di lor giunto,
 Che gli atti loro a me venivan certi,
 Per gli occhi fui di grave dolor munto.
 Di vil cilicio mi parean coperti,
 E l' un sofferia l' altro con la spalla,
 E tutti dalla ripa eran sofferti. 60
 Così li ciechi, a cui la roba falla,

Latin with dative, which though the less usual is not unfrequent, especially in Horace. See Zumpt Gr. § 468.

⁵⁴ Bianchi reads *quel* ; but as no particular person is referred to, and *quello* is not often used as equivalent to *ciò*, I have preferred *quei*.

⁵⁷ *munto* : *mulgere*, not *mungerere*. Diez i. 189.

⁵⁹ Those who have envied each other on earth mutually sustain each other here.

⁶¹ *a cui la roba falla*. So Inf. xxiv. 7.

stance is lacking, stand by the pardons to beg their need, and one lets his head fall on another, so that in others pity shortly is planted, not only through the sound of the words, but through the face which no less yearns. And as the Sun reaches not to those deprived [of sight], so to the shades in the place whereof I was but now speaking, light of Heaven will not bestow of itself: for in all of them a thread of iron bores the eyelid, and sews it in such wise as

Stanno ai perdoni a chieder lor bisogna
 E l' uno il capo-sovra l' altro avvalla,
 Perchè in altrui pietà tosto si pogna,
 Non pur per lo sonar delle parole,
 Ma per la vista, che non meno agogna.
 E come agli orbi non approda il Sole,
 Così all' ombre, dov' io parlava ora,^d
 Luce del Ciel di sè largir non vuole:
 Chè a tutte un fil di ferro il ciglio fora,
 E cuce sì com' a sparvier selvaggio

70

^d *ombre qui ond' io Gg. ; om. ov' io Cass. ; quivi ov' io parlo 45 ; parlava 12 ; la v' io W.*

⁶² **perdoni**, the church-doors and other places where notice of indulgences is given.

⁶⁷ **approda**. The word occurs transitively Inf. xxi. 78. The best interpretation would appear to be that which takes it as = *arriva* (*proda* = *riva* in vi. 85, and elsewhere); and with this Blanc (*Erklärungen*) finally agrees, though in his Dictionary he has preferred the meaning 'profits,' which Philalethes also adopts. Bianchi, however, explains, 'non arriva, non giunge a farsi vedere.' Ott. 'non giova.'

⁶⁸ **dov' io parlava ora**. Not, I think, quite as Bianchi puts it, 'del luogo nel quale,' for he has not yet spoken; nor as Philalethes, 'die ich erwähnt,' for **dove** is not equivalent to *delle quali*. It is rather a compressed way of saying, 'nel luogo del quale.'—**ora**, as in xi. 120. So French 'tout-à-l'heure' is used of time just past.

is done to a wild hawk because he remains not quiet. As I went I seemed to myself to be doing outrage in seeing others and not being seen, wherefore I turned to my sage counsel. Well knew he what I, the silent, would say, and therefore he awaited not my demand, but said: 'Speak, and be brief and clear.' Virgil was going between me and that edge of the cornice, whence one may fall, because it is enringed with no border; on the other side me were the devout shades, who through the horrible stitching were

Si fa, però che queto non dimora.
 A me pareva andando fare oltraggio,
 Vedendo altrui, non essendo veduto:
 Perch' io mi volsi al mio consiglio saggio.
 Ben sapev' ei, che volea dir lo muto;
 E però non attese mia dimanda;
 Ma disse: Parla, e sii breve ed arguto.
 Virgilio mi venia da quella banda *
 Della cornice, onde cader si puote, 80
 Perchè da nulla sponda s' inghirlanda:
 Dall' altra parte m' eran le devote
 Ombre, che per l' orribile costura

* *landa Gg.*

⁷⁵ **consiglio**: like *compagnia* Inf. xxviii. 116.

⁷⁹ Literally, 'was going with regard to me in the direction of that border.' This is one of the little explanations which Dante is so fond of giving to enable the reader to get his bearings.—**venia**, because Dante had gone a little in front. **da**, as in iv. 57, etc. Diez iii. 149. Gg. reading *landa*, explains 'i.e. *planicie extrema*.'

⁸¹ **sponda**. Latin *sponda* is a bedstead, and more especially the side away from the wall, which would project a little beyond the mattress. (Hor. Epod. iii. 22.) Here the meaning is that the path came to the very edge of the precipice.

straining so that they bathed their cheeks. I turned to them and began : ' O folk secure of seeing the light on high which alone your desire has in its care, so may grace quickly break up the scum of your conscience in such wise that the stream of the mind may flow down clear through it, tell me (for it will be gracious and precious to me) if there is here among you a soul that is Latin ; and perhaps to him it will be good, if I become known to him.' ' O my brother, each is citizen of a true city ; but thou wouldst say, who lived as a pilgrim in Italy.' This methought I heard

Premevan sì, che bagnavan le gote.
 Volsimi a loro, ed : O gente sicura,
 Incominciai, di veder l' alto lume
 Che il disio vostro solo ha in sua cura ;
 Se tosto grazia risolva le schiume
 Di vostra coscienza, sì che chiaro
 Per essa scenda della mente il fiume, 90
 Ditemi (chè mi fia grazioso e caro)
 S' anima è quì tra voi, che sia Latina :
 E forse a lei sarà buon, s' io l' apparo.
 O frate mio, ciascuna è cittadina
 D' una vera città ; ma tu vuoi dire,
 Che vivesse in Italia peregrina.

⁸⁵ *sqq.* Cf. iii. 73-75.

⁸⁸ *se*, as in ii. 16.

⁹⁰ The metaphor seems to be of a stream blocked by scum and rubbish. Blanc takes *mente* in the sense of 'remembrance' (as in Par. ix. 104), with special reference to the effects of the water of Lethe.

⁹² *Latina*. So xi. 58.

⁹³ *lei*, fem. because it represents *anima*. So vi. 61.

⁹⁴ Cf. St. Augustine : 'Qui vero cives sunt in populo Dei, ipsi sunt in terra peregrini.' Comment. in Psal. cxviii.

by way of answer somewhat more in front than the place where I was standing, wherefore I let myself be heard still more that way. Among the others I saw a shade which in its face was expectant ; and if any would say 'How?'—it was raising its chin upward in fashion of one blind. 'Spirit,' said I, 'that art quelling thyself in order to mount, if thou art that one which answered to me, make thyself known to me either by place or name.' 'I was of Siena,' it answered, 'and with these others I cleanse here my guilty life, weeping to Him, that He may grant Himself to us. Sage I was not, albeit I was called Sapia, and

Questo mi parve per risposta udire
 Più innanzi alquanto, che là dov' io stava ;^f
 Ond' io mi feci ancor più là sentire.
 Tra l' altre vidi un' ombra, che aspettava 100
 In vista ; e se volesse alcun dir : Come ?
 Lo mento a guisa d' orbo in su levava.
 Spirto, diss' io, che per salir ti dome,
 Se tu sei quelli, che mi rispondesti,
 Fammiti conto o per luogo o per nome.
 Io fui Sanese, rispose, e con questi
 Altri rimondo qui la vita ria,
 Lagrimando a colui, che sè ne presti.
 Savia non fui, avvegna che Sapia

^f Più là *Ald. W.*

⁹⁹ Because the spirit could only thus know of his approach.

¹⁰⁹ 'Sapia fu gentildonna Sanese ; ma in esilio viveva in Colle, e tanta invidia portava allo stato Sanese che essendo rotti i Sanesi non lontano da Colle, tanta letizia ne prese, che alzando gli occhi al cielo disse, Fammi hoggimai Iddio il peggio che tu puoi, che viverò e morirò contenta.' Landino. This was the battle in which Provenzano Salvani was slain (see xi. 121), and some of the early commentators say that

I was far more glad of others' harm than of my own fortune. And that thou mayest not think that I deceive thee, hear whether I was foolish as I tell thee. As the arch of my years was already turning downward, my fellow-citizens were, near to Colle, joined in the field with their adversaries, and I prayed God for that which was His will. There were they routed, and turned to the bitter passes of flight, and seeing the chace, I took pleasure beyond all other : so much that I upraised my daring face, crying to God : " Henceforth I fear thee no more," as did the merle for a little fair weather.

Fossi chiamata, e fui degli altrui danni 110
 Più lieta assai, che di ventura mia.
 E perchè tu non credi, ch' io t' inganni,
 Odi se fui, com' io ti dico, folle.
 Già discendendo l' arco de' miei anni,
 Erano i cittadin miei presso a Colle
 In campo giunti coi loro avversari :
 Ed io pregava Dio di quel ch' ei volle.^g
 Rotti fur quivi, e volti negli amari
 Passi di fuga, e veggendo la caccia,
 Letizia presi ad ogni altri dispari : 120
 Tanto, ch' io levai in su l' ardita faccia,
 Gridando a Dio : Omai più non ti temo :
 Come fe il merlo per poca bonaccia.

^g *pregai 2 Ald. ; pregai Iddio W.*

Sapia was a relation of his. Philalethes thinks this improbable, because she was his enemy, but it is hard to see why one would have been incompatible with the other in those times.

¹¹⁴ For the comparison of human life to an arch, see Conv. iv. 23, where he puts the summit of the arch between the thirty-fifth and fortieth years.

¹²⁸ Blanc and Philalethes, after Lombardi, state that in North Italy

I wished for peace with God on the verge of my life ; and not yet would my debt be reduced through penitence, if it were not that Peter Pettinagno had me in memory in his holy prayers, whom of charity it grieved for me. But who art thou, that goest asking our conditions, and bearest thine eyes loosed, as I believe, and breathing talkest ? ' My eyes,' said I, ' will yet be taken from me here ; but for a little time, for small is the hindrance wrought through being turned with envy. Far greater is the fear

Pace volli con Dio in su lo stremo
 Della mia vita : ed ancor non sarebbe
 Lo mio dover per penitenza scemo,
 Se ciò non fosse ch' a memoria m' ebbe
 Pier Pettinagno in sue sante orazioni,
 A cui di me per caritate increbbe.
 Ma tu chi sei, che nostre condizioni 130
 Vai dimandando, e porti gli occhi sciolti,
 Sì come io credo, e spirando ragioni ?
 Gli occhi, diss' io, mi fieno ancor qui tolti,
 Ma picciol tempo : chè poca è l' offesa
 Fatta per esser con invidia volti.
 Troppa è più la paura, ond' è sospesa

the last three days of January are known as 'giorni del merlo.' Sacchetti (Nov. cxlix.) quotes the proverb : 'Più non ti curo, Domine, che uscito son del verno.'

¹²⁶ I.e. 'I should not have yet entered Purgatory,' cf. iv. 133.

¹²⁸ Piero Pettinagno (or Pettinaio as some read) is said to have been a hermit, of the Franciscan order, a Florentine by birth, but dwelling near Siena, and renowned for his piety and miracles. He is still, according to Philalethes, revered as a saint at Siena.

¹³³ **gli occhi** ; observe the allusion to the etymology of *invidia*.

¹³⁴, ¹³⁵ Envy, he means, was not one of his besetting sins.

¹³⁶⁻¹³⁸ Dante's pride seems to have been the point in his character

whereby my soul is in suspense of the torment below, for already yonder burden weighs on me.' And she to me: 'Who then has led thee up here among us, if thou thinkest to return below?' And I: 'He here who is with me, and speaks no word; and I am alive; and therefore ask of me, elect spirit, if thou wilt that yonder I move for thee hereafter my mortal feet.' 'Oh, this is so new a thing to hear,' she answered, 'that it is a great sign that God loves thee, wherefore with thy prayer at some time help me. And I ask thee by that which thou most desirest, if ever thou treadest the land of Tuscany that thou surely make good again my fame among my kin. Thou wilt see them among

L' anima mia, dal tormento di sotto :
 Che già lo incarco di laggiù mi pesa.
 Ed ella a me : Chi t' ha dunque condotto
 Quassù tra noi, se giù ritornar credi ? 140
 Ed io : Costui, ch' è meco, e non fa motto.
 E vivo sono : e però mi richiedi,
 Spirito eletto, se tu vuoi ch' io muova
 Di là per te ancor li mortai piedi.^h
 O questa è a udir sì cosa nuova,ⁱ
 Rispose, che gran segno è che Dio t' ami :
 Però col prego tuo talor mi giova :
 E cheggioti per quel che tu più brami,
 Se mai calchi la terra di Toscana,
 Ch' ai miei propinqui tu ben mi rinfami. 150
 Tu gli vedrai tra quella gente vana,

^h *Di là in parte Gg. 12345.*

ⁱ *Or questa 3 W.*

which most struck his contemporaries. See Villani ix. 136: 'Per lo suo savere fu alquanto presuntuoso e schifo e isdegnoso,' and sundry anecdotes to the same effect are preserved by Sacchetti and others.

¹⁵¹ **gente vana.** Cf. Inf. xxix. 122.

that vain folk who have hope in Talamone, and will lose there more hope than in finding the Diana; but yet more will their admirals lose there.'

Che spera in Talamone, e perderagli
Più di speranza, ch' a trovar la Diana :
Ma più vi perderanno gli ammiragli.^k

^k *metteranno Gg. 12345 Ald. W.*

¹⁵² **Talamone** is a small seaport at the south-west corner of the territory of Grosseto, in the Siense Maremma, not far from the mouth of the Ombrone. The Siense bought it in 1305 with the view of becoming a naval power, wherein they did not succeed. It was captured by the Sicilian fleet, under Don Peter (grandson of Peter III. of Aragon), acting on the side of the Emperor Louis IV. against the Guelfs in 1328 (Villani x. 103).

¹⁵³ **Diana**, a spring fabled to exist under Siena, in the search for which much time and money were spent. It, or another, was actually found in the course of the fourteenth century; see Vasari, lives of Agnolo and Agostino.

¹⁵⁴ Because they lost their lives owing to the unhealthiness of the place; or, according to Benv., because the harbour was so bad that they lost their ships. Dr. Moore prefers the reading *metteranno* (which has the weight of authority), in the sense of 'stake' or 'risk.' But one does not see how the admirals risked more than the state. Could we read *metterà negli amm.* 'it will place more hope in its admirals than in the scheme of finding the spring, and accordingly will lose more'?

CANTO XIV

ARGUMENT

Second circle continued. Dante talks with Guido del Duca and Rinier da Calboli, who lament the decline of virtue in the present age. They pass on and hear other voices, which recall examples of the sin of envy and its punishment.

‘WHO is this that circles our mountain before that death have given him power of flight, and opens and shuts his eyes at his own will?’ ‘I know not who he is, but I know that he is not alone. Ask thou of him that he draw nearer thee, and greet him sweetly, so that he may speak.’ Thus two spirits, leaning the one against the other, were talking of me

CHI è costui che il nostro monte cerchia
Prima che morte gli abbia dato il volo,
Ed apre gli occhi a sua voglia e coperchia?
Non so chi sia ; ma so ch' ei non è solo :
Dimandal tu, che più gli t' avvicini,^a
E dolcemente, sì che parli, accolo.
Così due spirti, l' uno all' altro chini,

^a *se più Gg.*

⁶ **accolo**, *accogliilo, accoilo, acco'lo.*

⁷ For the names of these two, see ll. 81, 88.

there to the right hand ; then they turned their faces upward to speak to me, and one said : ' O soul that fixed yet in the body goest thy way towards Heaven, for charity console us and tell us whence thou comest and who thou art, for thou makest us marvel so much at the grace thou hast, as that must needs do, which has never else happened.' And I : ' Through midmost Tuscany takes its way a little stream, which rises in Falterona, and a hundred miles of course sate it not. Upon its banks I bear this body. To tell you who I am would be to speak in vain, for as yet my name

Ragionavan di me ivi a man dritta :
 Poi fer li visi, per dirmi, supini :
 E disse l' uno : O anima, che fitta 10
 Nel corpo ancora, inver lo Ciel ten vai,
 Per carità ne consola, e ne ditta,
 Onde vieni, e chi sei : chè tu ne fai
 Tanto maravigliar della tua grazia,
 Quanto vuol cosa, che non fu più mai.
 Ed io : Per mezza Toscana si spazia
 Un fiumicel che nasce in Falterona,
 E cento miglia di corso nol sazia.
 Di sovr' esso rech' io questa persona ;
 Dirvi ch' io sia saria parlare indarno ; 20
 Chè il nome mio ancor molto non suona.

⁸ **a man dritta.** Because Dante, talking to Sapia, had his face towards the mountain.

⁹ So xiii. 102. The gesture is very familiar in the blind.

¹⁰ **fitto, fisso, fiso** are all frequent. For the first form, see Diez i. 13.

¹⁸ **sazia.** N.B. the singular, as if it were, 'corso di cento miglia.'

¹⁹ **di,** not, I think, 'from,' as Philalethes and Bianchi take it, but as in 'di quella costa,' Par. xi. 49, and 'di là,' 'di quà.' **reco** as in xxvi. 60, xxxiii. 78.

makes no great sound.' 'If I well pierce thy meaning with my understanding,' answered me then he who first spoke, 'thou talkest of Arno.' And the other said to him: 'Why did he hide the name of that river just as a man does of horrible things?' And the shade which was asked of this delivered itself thus: 'I know not, but meet it is surely that the name of such a vale perish, for, from its source (where so teems the lofty mountain, whence Pelorum is cut, that in a few places does it pass beyond that mark) even to that spot where it renders itself for repayment of

Se ben lo intendimento tuo accarno
 Con lo intelletto, allora mi rispose
 Quei che prima dicea, tu parli d' Arno.^b
 E l' altro disse a lui ; Perchè nascose
 Questi il vocabol di quella riviera,
 Pur com' uom fa dell' orribili cose ?
 E l' ombra che di ciò dimandata era,
 Si sdebitò così : Non so, ma degno
 Ben' è, che il nome di tal valle pera : 30
 Chè dal principio suo (dov' è sì pregno
 L' alpestro monte, ond' è tronco Peloro,
 Che in pochi luoghi passa oltra quel segno)
 Infin là 've si rende per ristoro

^b *dicea pria* 1234 ; *d. prima Cass.* ; *diceva pria W.*

²² **accarno**, properly 'pierce the flesh.' Cf. *accuorare*.

³¹ **sì pregno**. Both the Arno and the Tiber are among the streams which rise in the neighbourhood of Monte Falterona. Compare with this passage the description of the course of the Mincio, *Inf.* xx.

³² **monte**, the Apennine, from which Pelorum is cut off by the Strait of Messina.

what the heaven dries up of the sea, whence the rivers get that which goes with them, virtue is banished for an enemy by all men just like a serpent, either through mishap of the place or through evil custom which pricks them on, wherefore the inhabitants of the unhappy vale have so changed their nature that it seems as though Circe had had them in feeding. Among foul hogs, more worthy of galls than of any food made for the use of men, it first directs its miserable path. Next it finds curs, as it comes lower, snarling more than their power demands, and at them in

Di quel che il ciel della marina asciuga,
 Ond' hanno i fiumi ciò, che va con loro,
 Virtù così per nimica si fuga
 Da tutti, come biscia, o per sventura
 Del luogo, o per mal uso che gli fruga :
 Ond' hanno sì mutata lor natura 40
 Gli abitator della misera valle,
 Che par che Circe gli avesse in pastura.
 Tra brutti porci, più degni di galle,
 Che d' altro cibo fatto in umano uso,
 Dirizza prima il suo povero calle.
 Botoli truova poi venendo giuso
 Ringhiosi più che non chiede lor possa,

⁴³ **porci**, the men of the Casentino ; probably with especial reference to the great family known as the Conti Guidi, lords of Romena (Inf. xvi. 38), and Porciano, to which latter name there is perhaps an allusion. See Philalethes here, and to Inf. xvi. 39.—**galle** for *ghiande*, says Blanc : but surely it is contemptuous, ' fit not even for acorns, only galls.'

⁴⁴ **altro**. See xxxii. 39.

⁴⁶⁻⁴⁸ **Botoli**, the Aretines, who were in a state of almost constant feud with Florence, and for a long time more or less in subjection to it. The Arno, as will be seen on the map, flows south-east almost to Arezzo, and then makes a great sweep away to the north-west.

disdain it turns aside its muzzle. It goes its way downward, and in proportion as it grows fuller so much the more does the accursed and ill-fated foss find, out of dogs, wolves made. Then, having descended through more hollow basins, it finds the foxes, so full of fraud that they have no fear of a wit that may forestall them. Nor will I leave speaking for all that another hear me; and good will it be for this man if hereafter he bethinks him of that which a spirit of truth unfolds to me. I see thy grandson, who becomes

Ed a lor disdegnosa torce il muso.
 Vassi cagendo, e quanto ella più ingrossa,
 Tanto più truova di can farsi lupi 50
 La maladetta e sventurata fossa.
 Discesa poi per più pelaghi cupi,
 Truova le volpi sì piene di froda,
 Che non temono ingegno che le occupi.
 Nè lascerò di dir, perch' altri m' oda :
 E buon sarà a costui, se ancor s' ammenta
 Di ciò che vero spirto mi disnoda.
 Io veggio tuo nipote, che diventa

⁵⁰ **lupi**, the Florentines, of course with especial allusion, as in Par. xxv. 6 and elsewhere, to the Guelfs.

⁵² **pelaghi cupi**. Philalethes points out the topographical accuracy of all this description of the Arno's course. Those who have travelled along the railway from Pisa to Florence will remember the deep hollows through which the river makes its way between those towns.

⁵³ **volpi**, the Pisans.

⁵⁷ **vero spirto**. It seems hardly necessary to hold with Buti that a direct angelic communication is here implied.

⁵⁸ Fulcieri da Calvoli was *Podestà* of Florence in 1302. Villani (viii. 59) calls him 'uomo feroce e crudele,' and describes the destruction wrought by him among the White party. It is curious, as bearing on the question of Dante's place in the political parties of the time, to observe that although it was the White Guelfs, generally supposed to have been his own party, whom Fulcieri so harried, they are here classed

a chaser of those wolves upon the bank of the savage stream and scares them all; he sells their flesh while it is alive; afterward slaughters them like a beast grown old; many of life he deprives and himself of honour. Bloody he issues from the sorry wood; he leaves it such that, for a thousand years hence, it replants itself not in its first state.' As at the announcement of his doleful losses the face of him who

Cacciator di quei lupi in su la riva
 Del fiero fiume, e tutti gli sgomenta. 60
 Vende la carne loro, essendo viva :
 Poscia gli ancide come antica belva :
 Molti di vita, e sè di pregio priva.
 Sanguinoso esce della trista selva,
 Lasciala tal, che di qui a mill' anni
 Nello stato primaio non si rinselva.
 Come all' annunzio dei dogliosi danni^c

^c *futuri danni Ald. Bi.*

all alike as 'wolves.' It was, indeed, this treatment that bound them closely to the Ghibelines, and henceforward Villani always speaks of 'i bianchi e ghibellini.' But the classing of Dante cruelly as a Ghibeline is extremely misleading. See Par. vi. 105.

⁶¹ It is difficult to understand the meaning of this line. The treatment of Donato Alberti, to which Philaethes thinks it may refer, does not seem much to the point, for though it might be said that he was exposed in the shambles, he can hardly be said to have been sold. Nor is Landino's explanation, 'per prezzo ucciderà molti,' much more satisfactory. Villani, at all events, gives no hint that Fulcieri had any inducement, save party feeling, to act as he did. The allusion is probably to some transaction known at the time and since forgotten.

⁶² Blanc finds a difficulty, which does not seem to have struck the Italian commentators, in the use of *belva* to signify a domestic animal.

⁶⁴ *selva*. So Inf. i. 2.

⁶⁵ See Villani l.c. and ch. 68 for the misery which succeeded Fulcieri's year of office.

⁶⁷ The reading *futuri* probably comes from Inf. xiii. 12.

listens is troubled, from what quarter soever the danger may assail him, so saw I the other soul that was remaining turned to hear, grow troubled and become sad, after it had considered the word within itself. The speech of the one and the visage of the other made me desirous to know their names, and I made demand of them mingled with prayer. Wherefore the spirit which first spoke to me began again: 'Thou wilt that I humble myself in doing to thee that thou wilt not do to me; but seeing that God wills that His grace should in thee shine out so great, I will not be sparing

Si turba il viso di colui che ascolta,^d
 Da qual che parte il periglio lo assanni :
 Così vid' io l' altr' anima, che volta 70
 Stava ad udir, turbarsi e farsi trista,
 Poi ch' ebbe la parola a sè raccolta.
 Lo dir dell' una e dell' altra la vista
 Mi fe' voglioso di saper lor nomi,
 E dimanda ne fei con prieghi mista.
 Perchè lo spirto, che di pria parlòmi,
 Ricominciò : Tu vuoi ch' io mi deduca
 Nel fare a te ciò che tu far non vuo' mi.
 Ma da che Dio in te vuol che traluca
 Tanta sua grazia, non ti sarò scarso : 80

^d *di colui, che ascolta Da qualche Ald.*

⁶⁹ **qual che** = Fr. *quel que*, or as it would now be written *quelque* . . . *que*. See Littré under both these phrases. It is not quite the same as *qualunque*.—**assannare**, properly, to attack with the teeth, as Inf. xxx. 29.

⁷¹ **stava** = little more than *era*. Cf. Inf. vii. 109, where, however, it may be rendered 'I was standing,' which it cannot here, as the shades are sitting. For this use, see Diez iii. 188.

toward thee ; wherefore know that I am Guido del Duca. My blood was so on fire with envy that, if thou hadst seen a man grow prosperous, thou wouldst have seen me with livid hue overspread. Of my sowing such is the straw I reap. O race of men, why place ye your hearts there where refusal of companionship is necessary? This is Rinier, this is the prize and the honour of the house of

Però sappi ch' io son Guido del Duca.
 Fu il sangue mio d' invidia sì riarso,
 Che se veduto avessi uom farsi lieto,
 Visto m' avresti di livore sparso.
 Di mia semenza cotal paglia mieto.
 O gente umana, perchè poni il cuore
 Là 'v' è mestier di consorto divieto?
 Questi è Rinier : questi è il pregio e l' onore

⁸¹ Of Guido del Duca even Philalethes has been able to discover no more than that he was of Brettinoro, or Bertinoro, a town in Romagna, near Forlì. From Villani viii. 93, it would appear to have been a Ghibeline town, for we find the Guelfs besieging it in 1307.

⁸³ I prefer to take *avessi* as the second person. The grammatical connection of the sentence is thereby more satisfactory and the idea more vivid. Besides Guido would not surely say 's' io avessi veduto,' but 's' io vidi,' or at least 'vedessi.'

⁸⁷ A difficult line to render exactly. It must be remembered that the order of the words is 'ove divieto di consorto è mestier'; *mestier*, as in i. 92 and elsewhere, standing by itself. Philalethes has 'wobei zulässig nicht Gemeinschaft.' Blanc quotes Boethius (Cons. Phil. ii. 5): 'O angustas inopesque divitias quas nec habere totas pluribus licet, et ad quemlibet sine ceterorum paupertate non veniunt.'

⁸⁸ Philalethes thinks there is some reason for identifying the person here named with a Rinier of Calvoli, who was *Podestà* of Parma in 1252. The family were Guelfs of the strictest sect, and were in 1306 driven out of Brettinoro, where they possessed a castle, by the inhabitants, aided by the men of Forlì. Here then it would seem, just as in Canto vii., Dante brings men who on earth were of opposite parties into close and affectionate intimacy.

Calboli, where no man has since made himself heir of his worth. And not his blood only, between the Po and the mountain, and the sea and the Reno, has been stripped bare of the good sought for earnest and for pastime, for all within these boundaries is so full of poisonous stocks, that late would they hereafter be diminished by cultivation. Where is the good Lizio, and Henry Manardi, Peter Traversaro, and Guy

Della casa da Calboli, ove nullo
Fatto s' è reda poi del suo valore. 90

E non pur lo suo sangue è fatto brullo
Tra il Pò e il monte, e la marina e il Reno,
Del ben richiesto al vero ed al trastullo ;
Chè dentro a questi termini è ripieno
Di venenosi sterpi, sì che tardi
Per coltivare omai verrebber meno.
Ov' è il buon Lizio, ed Arrigo Manardi,
Pier Traversaro, e Guido di Carpigna ?

⁹² That is, in Romagna. The Reno flows a little west of Bologna (Inf. xviii. 61), and presently turns to the south-east, and becomes connected with the southern mouths of the Po. **monte** = the Apennine.

⁹⁷ These and the following names are all those of men or families who shared in the struggle of Guelfs and Ghibelines for supremacy in Romagna, which lasted through all the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Lizio da Valbona appears in 1274 in connection with Rinier da Calvoli as on the side of the Guelfs against Guy of Montefeltro and the Ghibelines, and with Ricciardo da' Manardi of Brettinoro, under more peaceful circumstances, in Bocc. Dec. v. 4. See the notes of Philaethes to this passage, and at the end of Inf. xxvii., where he gives a general sketch of the affairs of Romagna during this period, in which several of these names will be found. Of the rest the early commentators mostly tell us little more than we might gather from the text, viz. that they were noble and courteous gentlemen, given to liberality. In Dec. v. 8 (the well-known story which Dryden has adapted as 'Theodore and Honoria') the hero is Anastagio, and the heroine of the Traversaro family.

of Carpigna? O men of Romagna turned to bastards! When does a Fabbro spring up again in Bologna, when in Faenza a Bernardin son of Fosco, noble scion of humble plant? Marvel not if I weep, Tuscan, when I remember, with Guy of Prata, Ugolin d' Azzo who lived with us; Frederick

O Romagnuoli tornati in bastardi!

Quando in Bologna un Fabbro si raligna? 100

Quando in Faenza un Bernardin di Fosco,

Verga gentil di picciola gramigna?

Non ti maravigliar, s' io piango, Tosco,

Quando rimembro con Guido da Prata

Ugolin d' Azzo, che vivette nosco:

¹⁰⁰ **si raligna.** *Allignarsi* is the regular term for a plant which takes root and grows. See, for instance, the Italian version of Crescentius *passim*.—There is some difficulty, for want of an accurate knowledge of the meaning of the allusion, in deciding whether these three lines are to be taken interrogatively, or as an explanation of the previous **bastardi** ('bastards,' when men of no birth take rank among nobles), in which latter case there should be only a comma at the end of l. 99, and l. 102 must be taken as ironical. Landino, though he omits, perhaps by a printer's error, the note of interrogation, follows the earliest commentators in adopting the former way, and says that a certain Lambertaccio Fabbro (Big Lambert the Blacksmith) was the founder of the great Ghibeline family of Bologna, the Lambertazzi. Of Bernardino, Philalethes finds that he was the son of Fosco a peasant, whom for his virtue and wise talk the nobles used often to visit. At the same time the learned and royal commentator renders it, 'O der Bastardbrut Romagna's *Weil* in Bologn' ein Fabbro, in Faenza Treibt neue Wurzeln,' etc., and therefore seems to understand the words as used in dispraise. I prefer to follow his notes rather than his translation. Blanc also supports this interpretation, which certainly seems more in agreement with the rest of the passage. It is not want of birth but of manners which Guido is reprehending in his countrymen.

¹⁰⁵ Some read *vosco*; but the whole passage relates to persons who belonged to Romagna. Ugolino d' Azzo is said to have been of the Tuscan family of the Ubaldini, and domiciled in Faenza. He was cousin to Archbishop Roger of Inf. xxxiii.

Tignoso and his company, the house of Traversaro, and the Anastagi (both the one race and the other is void of heirs), the dames and the cavaliers, the toils and the repose, which love and courtesy put in our will, there where the hearts are now become so wicked. O Brettinoro, why fleest thou not away; since thy family is departed, and much folk, to be free from guilt? Well does Bagnacavallo, that it bears no more sons, and ill does Castrocaro, and worse Conio, that it sets itself any more to beget such counts. Well will the Pagani do, from the time that their Demon shall go his way;

Federigo Tignoso e sua brigata :

La casa Traversara, e gli Anastagi
(E l' una gente e l' altra è diretata),^e

Le donne e i cavalier, gli affanni e gli agi,

Che ne invogliava amore e cortesia, 110

Là dove i cuor son fatti sì malvagi.

O Brettinoro, chè non fuggi via,

Poichè gita se n' è la tua famiglia,

E molta gente per non esser ria?

Ben fa Bagnacaval, che non rifiglia;

E mal fa Castrocaro, e peggio Conio,

Che di figliar tai conti più s' impiglia.

Ben faranno i Pagan, da che il Demonio

^e *diredata Ald. Land.*

¹⁰⁶ **Federigo Tignoso** is said by Benv. to have been a gentleman of Rimini, famous for the beauty of his hair; whence the somewhat elementary humour of the time nicknamed him 'scurfy Fred.'

¹⁰⁸ **diretata** is from low Latin *deherito*.

^{115, 116} The Counts of Bagnacavallo do not as a matter of fact seem to have become extinct before the end of the fourteenth century. Those of Castrocaro were Ghibelines; those of Conio, Guelfs.

¹¹⁸ The Pagani were citizens of Imola. Their Demon is the famous partisan-leader Maghinardo Pagani da Susinana, the 'leonce dal nido

but yet not in such wise that a pure record of them should ever remain. O Ugolin of the Fantoli, secure is thy name, since no longer is one expected who can by degenerating make it obscure. But go thy way now, Tuscan, for now it delights me far more to weep than to talk, so has our converse constrained my mind.'

Lor sen girà : ma non però che puro
Giammai rimanga d' essi testimonio.^f

120

O Ugolin dei Fantoli, sicuro
È il nome tuo, da che più non s' aspetta
Chi far lo possa tralignando oscuro.
Ma va via, Tosco, omai, ch' or mi diletta
Tropo di pianger più che di parlare,
Sì m' ha nostra ragion la mente stretta.^g

^f *di se Gg.*

^g *vostra 2 Ald. Land.; region Bi.*

bianco' of Inf. xxvii. 50. Villani (vii. 149) says of him: 'fu uno grande e savio tiranno, savio fu di guerra, e bene avventuroso in più battaglie, e al suo tempo fece grandi cose. Ghibellino era di sua nazione e in sue opere, ma co' Fiorentini era guelfo, e nimico di tutti loro nimici, guelfi o ghibellini che fossono.' He was left when a child to the guardianship of the city of Florence. He took Imola from the Bolognese in 1296 (Villani viii. 16) and remained lord of the city till his death in 1302.

¹²¹ Ugolino de' Fantoli, of Faenza, died about 1292.

¹²³ **tralignando**. A technical word again. In the Italian version of *Crescentius* it is said, of the apple: 'invecchia tosto, e nella sua vecchiezza traligna.' Cf. Villani xii. 44. In Par. xii. 90, xvi. 58 it seems to be used in the literal sense of overstepping a line.

¹²⁶ **nostra ragion**. Cf. xxii. 130. If we read *vostra*, the sense must be 'your,' i.e. 'human reason,' which breeds compassion. It cannot be 'your talk,' because only Guido has spoken. Bianchi's reading, **nostra region**, 'the thought of our country,' would not be unsatisfactory if it were supported by MSS.

We were aware that those dear souls heard us go ; therefore by their silence they made us confident of the road. After we were alone as we went forward, appeared, like lightning when it cleaves the air, a voice which came to meet us, saying : ' Whosoever findeth me shall slay me ' ; and it fled, like thunder which melts away if suddenly it rends the cloud. When from it our hearing had truce, lo the other with so great uproar that it seemed a quickly following peal : ' I am Aglauros, that became a stone.' And then, to draw close to the Poet, I made my pace backward and not forward.

Already was the air quiet on every hand, and he said to

Noi sapevam che quell' anime care
 Ci sentivano andar : però tacendo
 Facevan noi del cammin confidare.
 Poi fummo fatti soli procedendo, 130
 Folgore parve, quando l' aer fende,
 Voce che giunse di contra, dicendo :
 Anciderammi qualunque m' apprende ;
 E fuggio, come tuon che si dilegua,
 Se subito la nuvola scoscende.
 Come da lei l' udir nostro ebbe tregua ;
 Ed ecco l' altra con sì gran fracasso,
 Che somigliò tonar che tosto segua :
 Io sono Aglauro che divenni sasso ;
 Ed allor per istringermi al Poeta, 140
 Indietro feci e non innanzi il passo.
 Già era l' aura d' ogni parte queta :

^{128, 129} Because they knew that if they went wrong, the souls would perceive it and warn them ; and accordingly their silence showed that they were right.

¹³³ Genesis iv. 14.

¹³⁹ See Ovid *Metam.* ii. 800 sqq.

me : 'That was the hard bit, which ought to hold the man within his bound. But ye take the bait, so that the hook of the old adversary draws you to him ; and therefore little avails bridle or recall. The heaven calls you, and turns around you, showing you its eternal beauties ; and your eye gazes only on the earth ; wherefore He who discerns all scourges you.'

Ed ei mi disse : Quel fu il duro camo,
Che dovria l' uom tener dentro a sua meta.
Ma voi prendete l' esca, sì che l' amo
Dell' antico avversario a sè vi tira ;
E però poco val freno o richiamo.
Chiamavi il cielo, e intorno vi si gira,
Mostrandovi le sue bellezze eterne,
E l' occhio vostro pure a terra mira ; 150
Onde vi batte chi tutto discerne.

¹⁴³ Cf. xiii. 40.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. xix. 62.

CANTO XV

ARGUMENT

They come to an angel of wonderful brightness, who shows them the way to the next circle. Virgil explains a doubt which has arisen in the author's mind. They enter the third circle, where the sin of anger is purged. Dante falls into a trance, or ecstasy, and beholds as in a vision certain events, whereby the contrary virtue is set forth. He comes to himself, and of a sudden they are involved in a thick smoke.

As much as, between the end of the third hour and the beginning of the day, appears of the sphere which ever sports in fashion of a child, so much by this appeared to remain to the Sun of his course towards the evening; there it was late afternoon, and here midnight. And the

Quanto tra l' ultimar dell' ora terza,
E il principio del dì par della spera,
Che sempre a guisa di fanciullo scherza,
Tanto pareva già in ver la sera
Essere al Sol del suo corso rimaso;
Vespero là, e qui mezza notte era.

¹⁻⁶ I.e. it was three hours past noon (*vespero* = from 3 to 6, *sera* = from 6 to 9 P.M.) in Purgatory, wherefore it must have been three hours after midnight at Jerusalem, and just midnight at Florence. **spera** is the sphere in which the sun is fixed, which is said to *sport*, because its great circle—the ecliptic—is always rising or falling, to appearance, in the sky.

rays were striking us on half the nose, because the mount had been so circled by us, that we were already going straight towards the sunset; when I felt the splendour weigh down my forehead far more than before, and the things not understood were an astonishment to me. Wherefore I raised my hands towards the top of my eyelids, and made to myself the sun-shade which pares away the superfluity of vision. As when from water or from the mirror the ray rises toward the opposite part, mounting up in the manner similar to that in which it descends, and

E i raggi ne ferian per mezzo il naso,
 Perchè per noi girato erà sì il monte,
 Che già dritti andavamo inver l' occaso ;
 Quando io senti' a me gravar la fronte 10
 Allo splendore assai più che di prima,
 E stupor m' eran le cose non conte :
 Ond' io levai le mani inver la cima
 Delle mie ciglia, e fecimi il solecchio,
 Che del soverchio visibile lima.
 Come quando dall' acqua o dallo specchio
 Salta lo raggio all' opposita parte,
 Salendo su per lo modo parecchio
 A quel che scende, e tanto si diparte

⁷ They are facing due W. while the sun is N.W.

^{8,9} See note to iii. 89. With this use of *per* cf. that of *durch* in German.

^{10, 11} *senti' allo splendore*. See note to viii. 106.

¹⁵ *soverchio visibile*. Cf. viii. 36. It is the *αισθητοῦ ὑπερβολή* of Aristotle; and Philaethes's 'das Licht das von oben einfiel' is clearly a mistranslation. Cf. xvii. 53.

¹⁸ *parecchio*, Fr. *pareil*, has in Italian quite gone out of use in this its primary sense.

parts itself equally far from the fall of the plummet in an equal space, as experiment and art show; so I seemed to be struck by light reflected there in front of me, wherefore my sight was quick to fly. 'What is that, sweet Father,' said I, 'from which I cannot screen my face so much as may avail me, and it appears to be in motion toward us?' 'Marvel not if still the family of Heaven dazzle thee,' he answered me; 'it is a messenger who comes to bid one mount. Soon will it be that to see these things will not be

20

Dal cader della pietra in igual tratta,^a
 Sì come mostra esperienza ed arte :
 Così mi parve da luce rifratta
 Ivi dinanzi a me esser percosso :
 Perchè a fuggir la mia vista fu ratta.
 Che è quel, dolce Padre, a che non posso
 Schermar lo viso tanto che mi vaglia,
 Diss' io, e pare inver noi esser mosso ?
 Non ti maravigliar se ancor t'abbaglia
 La famiglia del Cielo, a me rispose :
 Messo è che viene ad invitar ch' uom saglia. 30
 Tosto sarà che a veder queste cose

^a *pietra lacqua Gg.*

²⁰ I.e. at a given distance from the reflecting surface the incident and reflected rays are equidistant from the perpendicular.

²¹ **esperienza ed arte**, a kind of ἐν διὰ δύοῖν, hence the singular verb. 'Arte, la prospettiva.'—Land. Here, as elsewhere, **arte** denotes what we should rather call 'science.' See note iv. 80.

²² Note that here, as elsewhere (Par. xix. 6, etc.), Dante uses **rifrangere** where we should say 'reflect.' It is the translation of Gr. ἀνακλᾶσθαι, which seems to have been used in both senses.

³⁰ **uom**, as in iv. 27.

grievous to thee, but will be to thee a delight, as much as nature has disposed thee to feel.'

After we were come to the blessed angel, with joyful voice he said: 'Enter here,' to a stair far less steep than the others. We were mounting, having already departed thence; and *Beati misericordes* was chanted behind us, and 'Rejoice thou that conquerest.'

My Master and I, solitary, were both going upward, and I was thinking as I went to gain profit in his words; and I directed myself to him, thus inquiring: 'What meant the spirit from Romagna, making mention of both a refusal and companionship?' Wherefore he to me: 'Of his own greatest blemish he recognises the bane; and therefore let

Non ti fia grave, ma fieti diletto,
 Quanto natura a sentir ti dispose.
 Poi giunti fummo all' Angel benedetto,
 Con lieta voce disse: Intrate quinci;
 Ad un scalèo vie men che gli altri eretto.
 Noi montavamo, già partiti linci,^b
 E *Beati misericordes* fue
 Cantato retro, e: Godi tu che vinci.
 Lo mio Maestro ed io soli amendue
 Suso andavamo, ed io pensava, andando,
 Prode acquistar nelle parole sue:
 E dirizzai mi a lui sì dimandando:
 Che volle dir lo spirto di Romagna,
 E divieto e consorto menzionando?
 Perch' egli a me: Di sua maggior magagna
 Conosce il danno: e però non s' ammiri,

40

^b *Noi eravamo Cass.; montavam g. p. di linci Gg. 124; da linci W.*

⁴⁵ See xiv. 87.

there be no wonder if he reproves it, that he may the less mourn for it. Because your desires are concentrated where through companionship a part is lost, envy moves the bellows to your sighs. But if the love of the highest sphere moves your desire upward, you would not have that fear at the heart; because the more there are by whom "Ours" is said there, so much the more of good each possesses, and the more of charity burns in that cloister.' 'I am more

Se ne riprende, perchè men sen piagna.
 Perchè s' appuntano i vostri desiri^c
 Dove per compagnia parte si scema: 50
 Invidia muove il mantaco ai sospiri.
 Ma se l' amor della spera suprema
 Torcesse in suso il desiderio vostro,
 Non vi sarebbe al petto quella tema:
 Chè per quanti si dice più lì nostro,^d
 Tanto possiede più di ben ciascuno,
 E più di caritate arde in quel chiostro.

^c *nostri Gg.*

^d *per quanto Cass.; quantunque Gg.; Perche quanto Ald. Land. Bi.*

⁴⁹ **appuntarsi** is more frequent in the Paradise. See, for example, ix. 118, xxvi. 7, and (cf. with this passage) xxix. 12.

⁴⁹⁻⁵¹ 'Invidia nihil aliud est nisi animi labes quaedam et depravatio, qua quispiam alieno bono eam ob causam maeret, quod per id bonum suum commodum impediri vel diminui arbitretur.'—Sum. Theol. ii. 2. Q. 36.

^{55, 56} Landino and Philalethes quote Augustine De Civ. Dei xv. 15: Nullo modo fit minor accedente socio possessio bonitatis quam tanto latius, quanto concordius possidet individua sociorum charitas. The former also quotes Boethius: Omne bonum in commune deductum pulcrius elucescit. There can be little doubt that W. is correct in reading **quanti**, as is shown by the expansion given in line 73 to the doctrine stated here. 'Quanto sunt plures possessores ibi in caelo' is the comment in Gg.

⁵⁷ **chiostro**; cf. xxvi. 128.

fasting from being satisfied,' said I, 'than if I had before held my peace, and I unite more doubt in my mind. How can it be that a good distributed makes the more possessors richer in it, than if it is possessed by a few?' And he to me: 'Because thou dost fix thy mind only on earthly things, of true light thou gatherest darkness. That infinite and ineffable good which is on high, so runs to love as a ray comes to a shining body. It gives as much of ardour as it finds: so that in proportion as charity extends, in-

Io son d'esser contento più digiuno,
 Diss' io, che se mi fosse pria taciuto :
 E più di dubbio nella mente aduno. 60
 Com'esser puote che un ben distributo
 I più possessor faccia più ricchi
 Di sè, che se da pochi è posseduto?
 Ed egli a me : Perocchè tu rificchi
 La mente pure alle cose terrene,
 Di vera luce tenebre dispicchi.
 Quello infinito ed ineffabil bene,
 Che lassù è, così corre ad amore,
 Come a lucido corpo raggio viene.
 Tanto si dà, quanto truova d'ardore : 70
 Sì che quantunque carità si stende,

⁶⁹ Cf. Conv. iii. 7: Certi corpi per molta chiarezza di diafano avere in se mista, tosto che 'l Sole gli vede diventano tanto luminosi, che per moltiplicamento di luce in quelli appena discernibile è il loro aspetto, e rendono agli altri di sè grande splendore; siccome l'oro, e alcuna pietra Certi altri sono tanto senza diafano, che quasi poco della luce ricevono; siccome la terra. Così la bontà di Dio è rincontra altrimenti dalle sustanzie separate . . . e altrimenti dall' umana natura, etc. The whole of this passage should be read, and compared with iv. 20, where he quotes Aristotle De Anima ii. 2: *δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι καὶ διατιθεμένῳ ἢ τῶν ποιητικῶν ὑπάρχειν ἐνέργεια.*

creases upon it the eternal goodness. And the more the folk who comprehend each other on high the more there are to love rightly, and the more love there is, and as a mirror one renders it to another. And if my reasoning abates not thy hunger, thou wilt see Beatrice, and she will fully take away from thee this and each other craving. Only use diligence, that quickly may be erased, as are already the two, the five wounds which are closed by means of sorrowing.'

Cresce sovr' essa l' eterno valore.
 E quanta gente più lassù s' intende,
 Più v' è da bene amare, e più vi s' ama,
 E come specchio l' uno all' altro rende.
 E se la mia ragion non ti disfama,
 Vedrai Beatrice : ed ella pienamente
 Ti torrà questa e ciascun' altra brama.
 Procaccia pur, che tosto sieno spente,
 Come son già le due, le cinque piaghe, 80
 Che si richiudon per esser dolente.

⁷³ **s' intende** is the only reading that has any authority here, though, considering the resemblance between *c* and *t* in MSS., something may be said for *s' incende*, which Blanc gives from Perazzini, and seems to prefer. It is, however, little more than a repetition of the idea in line 70. Vellutello, reading as it would seem *al su*, and Fraticelli *lassuso*, explain it, the one (whom Cary and Longfellow have followed) by 'intende e aspira a quel bene di la su,' the other by 'è intenta nella visione di Dio.' Landino reads *lo su*, and explains 'non minuisce la gloria nell' anime in cielo per esservene più,' which looks as if he took **gente** to be the object and **s' intende** in the sense of 'stretches itself over,' 'contains,' *lo su* being heaven. Witte has 'Je mehr der Herzen droben sich begegnen.' Blanc (in his *Voc. Dant.*) 'Essere compreso.' Scartazzini follows Fanfani, who says that *intendersi* was used in the sense of *innamorarsi*; but this would make **più vi s' ama** superfluous. Philalethes, Lombardi, and Bianchi adopt the interpretation which I have followed, and which seems on the whole the best, if we are to keep the usual reading. Of this, however, I do

As I was wishing to say 'Thou dost appease me,' I saw that I was come upon the next gallery, so that my wandering eyes made me hold my peace. There meseemed that I was drawn of a sudden into an ecstatic vision, and saw in a temple sundry persons; and a dame in the entry, with sweet gesture of a mother, said: 'My son, why hast thou

Com' io voleva dicer: Tu m' appaghe;
 Vidimi giunto in su l' altro girone,
 Sì che tacer mi fer le luci vaghe.
 Ivi mi parve in una visione
 Estatica di subito esser tratto,
 E vedere in un tempio più persone:
 Ed una donna in su l' entrar, con atto
 Dolce di madre dicer: Figliuol mio,

not feel sure. A comparison with Par. xxvi. 28 sqq. suggests a reading *l' intende*, 'comprehends it,' i.e. the *bene*, and looking to the small difference between long *s* and *l* in MSS. this seems at least worth considering. But a reference to Aquinas, S. T. ii. 2. Q. 24. Art. 5: *Charitas augetur gradus intensionis suscipiendo*,—compared with Suppl. Q. 93. A. 2: *Quanto aliquis erit Deo magis conjunctus, tanto erit beatior, sed secundum modum charitatis est modus conjunctionis ad Deum, ergo secundum differentiam charitatis erit et diversitas beatitudinis*—suggests a better emendation, viz. to read 'E in quanta gente,' taking *carità* as the subject of *s' intende*. The alteration would merely be from *et* to *ei*; and the words would mean: 'The more there are among whom charity increases, the more is received of the one true good, the love of God.' This would agree too with Par. v. 105.

⁸³ Observe that here, as in the last circle, the bodily eyes are rendered useless, by the nature of the punishment, and the examples of the sin and its contrary virtue need therefore again to be presented to the mind by some other means than through their aid. Here the method adopted is that of trance, or vision, and perhaps with special reference to the way in which anger deprives a man temporarily of the power to observe external things, and not merely, as Ginguen  says, 'pour varier les moyens.'

thus dealt with us? Behold thy father and I were seeking thee sorrowing.' And as here she held her peace, that which first appeared disappeared. Then appeared to me another, with those waters fallen on her cheeks which grief distils, when it arises from great despite toward another; and she said: 'If thou art lord of the town, of whose name there was such strife among the gods, and whence all knowledge sparkles forth, avenge thee of those daring arms which embraced our daughter, O Pisistratus.' And the lord appeared to me kindly and gently to answer her with temperate mien: 'What should we do to whoso wishes us ill, if he who loves us is condemned by us?' Afterward I saw

Perchè hai tu così verso noi fatto ? 90
 Ecco dolenti lo tuo padre ed io
 Ti cercavamo. E come qui si tacque,
 Ciò che pareva prima disparìo.
 Indi m' apparve un' altra con quell' acque
 Giù per le gote, che il dolor distilla
 Quando per gran dispetto in altrui nacque :
 E dir : Se tu sei sire della villa,
 Del cui nome nei Dei fu tanta lite,
 Ed onde ogni scienza disfavilla,
 Vendica te di quelle braccia ardite, 100
 Che abbracciar nostra figlia, O Pisistrato :
 E il signor mi pareva benigno e mite
 Risponder lei con viso temperato ;
 Che farem noi a chi mal ne disira,
 Se quei che ci ama è per noi condannato ?

⁹⁸ Ovid. Met. vi. 70. Quoted also from Varro by St. Augustine, Civ. Dei xviii. 9: de lite deorum suorum nomen accepit. The story here referred to is told by Valerius Maximus, v. 1, § 2, in the second part.

folk kindled into fire of rage slay with stones a youth, loudly crying to each other only: 'Kill, kill'; and him I saw bow himself toward the earth by reason of the death which was weighing him down already, but of his eyes he made ever gates to the heaven; praying to the Lord on high in so great a strife that He would pardon his persecutors, with that aspect which unlocks pity. When my mind turned outward again to the things which are true externally to it, I recognised my not false errors. My Leader, who could see me do as does a man who loosens himself from his sleep, said: 'What ails thee, that thou canst not contain thyself? Nay, thou

Poi vidi genti accese in fuoco d' ira,
 Con pietre un giovinetto ancider, forte
 Gridando a sè pur: Martira martira:
 E lui vedea chinarsi per la morte
 Che l' aggravava già, inver la terra, 110
 Ma degli occhi facea sempre al Ciel porte,
 Orando all' alto Sire in tanta guerra,
 Che perdonasse ai suoi persecutori,
 Con quell' aspetto che pietà disserra.
 Quando l' anima mia tornò di fuori
 Alle cose, che son fuor di lei vere,
 Io riconobbi i miei non falsi errori.
 Lo Duca mio, che mi potea vedere
 Far sì com' uom che dal sonno si slega,
 Disse: Che hai, che non ti puoi tenere? 120

¹¹⁴ **che pietà disserra.** I have followed the interpretation of Bianchi, Fraticelli, and Blanc. Philalethes refers it to Divine as well as human pity. Vellutello has 'che in apparenza di fuori manifesta pietà,' taking **pietà**=piety.

¹¹⁷ **non falsi**; because the representation of real events.

hast come more than half a league veiling thy eyes, and with thy legs entangled, in guise of one whom wine or sleep bows down.' 'O my sweet Father, if thou listenest to me, I will tell thee,' said I, 'that which appeared to me when my legs were so seized from me.' And he: 'If thou hadst a hundred masks over thy face, thy meditations would not be closed to me, however small. That which thou sawest was in order that thou shouldest not excuse thyself from opening thy heart to the waters of peace, which are poured abroad from the eternal fount. I did not ask, *What ails thee?* for the reason that he does, who looks only with the eye that sees not when the body lies inanimate; but I asked to give force to thy feet; so behoves it to goad the lazy, slow to use their wakefulness when it returns.'

Ma sei venuto più che mezza lega

Velando gli occhi, e con le gambe avvolte,

A guisa di cui vino o sonno piega.

O dolce Padre mio, se tu m' ascolte,

Io ti dirò, diss' io, ciò che mi apparve

Quando le gambe mi furon sì tolte.

Ed ei: Se tu avessi cento larve^e

Sovra la faccia, non mi sarien chiuse

Le tue cogitazion, quantunque parve.

Ciò che vedesti fu, perchè non scuse

D' aprir lo cuore all' acque della pace,

Che dall' eterno fonte son diffuse.^f

Non dimandai, Che hai, per quel che face

Chi guarda pur con l' occhio che non vede,

Quando disanimato il corpo giace:

Ma dimandai per darti forza al piede:

Così frugar conviensi i pigri, lenti

Ad usar lor vigilia quando riede.

^e mille Gg. 23.

^f dischiuse Gg.

We were going through the evening, gazing onward as far as the eyes could reach, against the late and shining rays, and beheld little by little a smoke draw toward us, as the night obscure ; nor from that was there place to withdraw oneself ; this took from us our eyes and the pure air.

Noi andavam per lo vespero attenti
Oltre, quanto potean gli occhi allungarsi, 140
Contra i raggi serotini e lucenti :
Ed ecco a poco a poco un fumo farsi
Verso di noi, come la notte oscuro,
Nè da quello era luogo da cansarsi :
Questo ne tolse gli occhi, e l' aer puro.

¹⁴² Dante can hardly have been aware of the etymological connexion between *θῦμος* and *fumus*. In Inf. vii. 123 the figure of *smoke* is attached rather to the kindred sin of *accidia*. Possibly its connexion here with *ira* is intended to remind us that the sins are akin.

CANTO XVI

ARGUMENT

Third circle continued. They go forward in the smoke, seeing nothing : but by their voices become aware that the spirits are at hand. Dante talks with Marco Lombardo, who speaks to him of the free-will and responsibility of man, and the need for two governments, the spiritual and the temporal ; by the confounding of which great evils have befallen the world.

GLOOM of hell, and of a night bereft of every planet under a barren sky, darkened all that it can be by cloud, made not to my sight so thick a veil as that smoke which there covered us, nor of so harsh a texture to feel ; for it suffered not the eye to stay open ; wherefore my tried and faithful

BUIO d' inferno, e di notte privata
D' ogni pianeta sotto pover cielo,
Quant' esser può di nuvol tenebrata,
Non fece al viso mio sì grosso velo,
Come quel fumo ch' ivi ci coperse,
Nè a sentir di così aspro pelo :
Chè l' occhio stare aperto non sofferse :
Onde la Scorta mia saputa e fida

⁶ **pelo** is hard to render here. The idea is of a veil of some coarse and harsh material, from which threads stick out like hairs. Phila-
lethes has only 'dem Gefühl so rauh.'

Escort moved to my side, and offered me his shoulder. Just as a blind man goes behind his guide in order not to stray, and not to stumble against aught that can harm him or maybe slay him, I was going through the bitter and foul air listening to my Leader, who kept saying only: 'See that thou be not cut off from me.' I began to hear voices, and each appeared to be praying for peace and mercy to the Lamb of God who takes away sins. *Agnus Dei* only were their preludes; one word in all there was, and one measure, so that there appeared among them all concord.

'Are those spirits, Master, which I hear?' said I. And he to me: 'Thou apprehendest truly, and of anger they go loosing the knot.'

Mi s' accostò, e l' omero m' offerse.
Sì come cieco va dietro a sua guida 10
Per non smarrirsi, e per non dar di cozzo
In cosa che il molesti, o forse ancida,
M' andava io per l' aere amaro e sozzo,
Ascoltando il mio Duca, che diceva
Pur: Guarda, che da me tu non sie mozzo.
Io sentia voci, e ciascuna pareva
Pregar per pace e per misericordia,
L' Agnel di Dio, che le peccata leva.
Pure *Agnus Dei* eran le loro esordia:
Una parola in tutte era ed un modo, 20
Sì che pareva tra esse ogni concordia.
Quei sono spirti, Maestro, ch' io odo?
Diss' io. Ed egli a me: Tu vero apprendi,
E d' iracondia van solvendo il nodo.

¹¹ dar di cozzo; so di piglio, i. 49, di morso, xviii. 132, di becco, xxiii. 30.

'Now who art thou who cleavest our smoke, and talkest of us, just as if thou still dividest thy time by calends?' Thus by one voice was spoken. Wherefore the Master said to me: 'Answer, and ask if from this point one goes upward.' And I: 'O creature that art purifying thyself, to return fair to Him who made thee, thou shalt hear a marvel if thou follow me.' 'I will follow thee as far as is allowed me,' he answered; 'and if smoke lets us not see, hearing will hold us joined for that turn.' Then I began: 'With that burthen which death unlooses, I go my way upward, and I have come here through the weariness of

Or tu chi sei, che il nostro fumo fendi,
 E di noi parli pur come se tu
 Partissi ancor lo tempo per calendi?
 Così per una voce detto fue:
 Onde il Maestro mi disse: Rispondi,
 E dimanda se quinci si va sue. 30
 Ed io: O creatura, che ti mondi,
 Per tornar bella a colui, che ti fece,
 Maraviglia udirai se mi secondi.
 Io ti seguiterò quanto mi lece,
 Rispose: e se veder fumo non lascia,
 L' udir ci terrà giunti in quella vece.
 Allora incominciai: Con quella fascia,
 Che la morte dissolve, men vo suso;
 E venni qui per la infernale ambascia: ^a

^a *per refrenar l' amb. Cass.*

²⁶ **parli pur**, 'only talkest about us, without being one of us.' Or perhaps better, with Landino, '**pur come**,' 'just as if' (as in xiv. 27, and elsewhere). *Pur*, from Lat. 'pure,' means originally 'simply,' 'with no admixture of anything else,' from which idea those of 'only' and 'exactly' are easily obtained.

³⁰ **in quella vece** = nearly *in vece di quello*; as Inf. xxi. 10.

Hell ; and if God has in His grace revealed to me so much that He wills that I should see His court, in a fashion wholly apart from modern use, conceal not from me who thou wast before thy death, but tell it me ; and tell me if I go aright to the passage, and let thy words be our escort.' 'A Lombard was I, and I was called Mark ; I had know-

E se Dio m' ha in sua grazia richiuso ^b 40
 Tanto che vuol ch' io veggia la sua corte
 Per modo tutto fuor del modern' uso,
 Non mi celar chi fosti anzi la morte,
 Ma dilmi, e dimmi s' io vo bene al varco,
 E tue parole fien le nostre scorte.
 Lombardo fui, e fui chiamato Marco :

^b *rinchiuso* Gg. 124.

⁴⁰ Bianchi, agreeing with most other commentators, explains *richiuso* by *ricevuto*. Except, however, in the passages, Par. ix. 44 and 102, *richiudere* is never used in D.C. without the idea of *reclosing*. I have, therefore, preferred to take it here in the sense of Lat. *recludere* ; a rendering which is also borne out by comparison with Par. xv. 30.

⁴² Cf. Inf. ii. 32.

⁴⁶ This Marco is said to have been a Venetian by birth, so that Lombardo must either be used generally for Italian, or, as seems more probable, have been a surname, most likely given on account of his family being by origin Lombard ; or, as Benv. says, because he went about a great deal in Lombardy. Boccaccio and others say that he was 'di ca' (casa) Lombardi da Vinigia,' and Vellutello adds that in his time the family still existed. The commentators for the most part identify him with the Marco Lombardo whose repartee to Count Ugolino is recorded by Villani, vii. 121. When the Pisan chief was at the height of his power, he happened to entertain Marco. 'What do you think of all this?' he enquired. 'I think that you are riper for bad luck than any other baron of Italy,' said the guest. 'Why so?' 'Because the wrath of God is the only thing which you have not got.' It may be remarked that Sismondi in narrating this incident, which he seems to have got from some source other than Villani, makes Ugolino address him with 'Eh bien, lombard' ; and in the Cento Nov. Antiche the name is written with *l*.

ledge of the world, and I loved that goodness towards the which each man has now unbent his bow. Thou goest rightly for mounting upwards.' Thus he answered; and added: 'I pray thee that for me thou pray, when thou art on high.' And I to him: 'Faithfully I bind me to thee, to do that which thou askest of me; but I am bursting inwardly with a doubt, if I get not an explanation thereof. First it was simple, and now it is made twofold in thy speech,

Del mondo seppi, e quel valore amai,^c
 Al quale ha or ciascun disteso l' arco.
 Per montar su dirittamente vai.
 Così rispose; e soggiunse: Io ti prego, 50
 Che per me preghi quando su sarai.
 Ed io a lui: Per fede mi ti lego
 Di far ciò che mi chiedi: ma io scoppio
 Dentro da un dubbio, s' io non me ne spiego.
 Prima era scempio, ed ora è fatto doppio

^c *voler Gg. Cass. (the editors of which call it 'lezione unica').*

⁴⁷ **quel valore** is taken by some to mean the virtue of liberality. but it is hard to see the appropriateness of the allusion here, or why it should not mean 'worth' generally.

⁴⁸ This metaphor, in which purpose is represented by the figure of the bow, which sends forth the arrow of action, is a favourite one with Dante. Cf. vi. 131. So Boccaccio Day x. Nov. 7, at end.

⁵¹ Blanc finds a difficulty in understanding **su** to mean 'in heaven,' because there is nothing elsewhere in D.C. to show that Dante's prayer will be more efficacious when he is there; nor does a reference to xxvi. 127 satisfy him. But surely this is a somewhat pedantic objection; and **su** must have the same meaning here as in line 49.

⁵⁴ **me spiego** seems to have a force not unlike that of the Greek middle voice.

⁵⁵ His doubt is as to the cause of the present corruption of the

which makes sure to me, here and elsewhere, that whereunto I couple it. The world is indeed as wholly desert of every virtue as thou proclaimest to me, and pregnant of wickedness, and overspread with it; but I pray that thou wouldst point out to me the cause, so that I may see it, and that I may show it to others; for one places it in the heavens, and another here below.' A deep sigh, which grief strained to a groan, he first sent forth, and then began: 'Brother, the world is blind, and surely thou comest from it. Ye who

Nella sentenza tua, che mi fa certo
 Qui ed altrove, quello ov' io l' accoppio.
 Lo mondo è ben così tutto deserto
 D' ogni virtute, come tu mi suone,
 E di malizia gravido e coverto : 60
 Ma prego che m' additi la cagione,^d
 Sì ch' io la vegga, e ch' io la mostri altrui :
 Chè nel ciel uno, ed un quaggiù la pone.
 Alto sospir, che duolo strinse in hui,
 Mise fuor prima : e poi cominciò : Frate,
 Lo mondo è cieco, e tu vien ben da lui.

^d *mi diti (altered from dici) Gg.*

world, of the existence of which he now feels certain, having heard it mentioned by two people.

⁶³ *cielo*, i.e. in the movements of the various heavens, or as we should say, the influence of the stars. I have used the plural, as 'heaven' would be ambiguous in English. For the properties of the 'heavens,' and their connection with the sciences, see *Conv.* ii. 14, and for the scholastic doctrine on the subject, *Sum. Theol.* i. Q. 115. Art. 3-5. In regard to the influence of the 'heavens' upon man's free-will, St. Thomas holds that '*voluntas non potest nisi indirecte a corporibus caelestibus moveri.*'—*S. T.* ii. 1. Q. 9. Art. 5.

live refer every occasion only upward to the heavens, just as if they moved all with them of necessity. If it were thus, free judgement in you would be destroyed, and it were not justice to have for good joy, and for evil woe. The heavens give beginning to your movements; I say not all, but granted that I say it, light is given you to good and to ill, and free-will which, if weariness lasts in its first battles with the heavens, afterwards wins in the whole, if it is well nurtured.

Voi che vivete ogni cagion recate
 Pur suso al ciel così, come se tutto^e
 Movesse seco di necessitate.
 Se così fosse, in voi fora distrutto
 Libero arbitrio, e non fora giustizia
 Per ben letizia, e per male aver lutto.
 Lo cielo i vostri movimenti inizia,
 Non dico tutti: ma posto ch' io il dica,
 Lume v' è dato a bene ed a malizia:
 E libero voler, che, se fatica^f
 Nelle prime battaglie col ciel dura,
 Poi vince tutto, se ben si notrica.

70

^e *cielo si* 3 *Ald. Land. Bi.*; *cielo pur* 124.

^f *safatica* *Cass.*

⁶⁷ So Kent in King Lear iv. 3, 34:

It is the stars,
 The stars above us, govern our conditions;
 Else one self mate and mate could not beget
 Such different issues.

This suggests again a reference to vii. 121 sqq. and Par. viii. 97 sqq.

⁷⁰ sqq. Cf. Boethius, Cons. Phil. v. Pr. 3: Frustra enim bonis malisque praemia poenaeve proponuntur, quae nullus meruit liber ac voluntarius motus animorum.

⁷⁶ There is another reading, *s' affatica*. If this be followed, **che** is the subject to **dura**. But this is not so good.

⁷⁸ **vince tutto**. So 'vince ogni battaglia,' Inf. xxiv. 53.

To a greater power and a better nature ye are free subjects, and that creates the mind in you, which the heavens have not in their care. Wherefore, if the present world goes astray, in you is the occasion, in you let it be sought; and I will be to thee now a true scout in the matter. Forth from His hand who loves it before it is, in fashion of a girl that plays weeping and laughing, comes the soul in its simplicity, knowing nothing save that, set in motion by a glad Maker, it turns willingly to that which gives it pastime. Of a small good at first it perceives the savour; here it deceives itself, and runs

A maggior forza ed a miglior natura
 Liberi soggiacete, e quella cria 80
 La mente in voi, che il ciel non ha in sua cura.
 Però se il mondo presente disvia,
 In voi è la cagione, in voi si cheggia:
 Ed io te ne sarò or vera spia.
 Esce di mano a lui, che la vagheggia
 Prima che sia, a guisa di fanciulla
 Che piangendo e ridendo pargoleggia,
 L' anima semplicetta, che sa nulla,
 Salvo che, mossa da lieto fattore,
 Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla. 90
 Di picciol bene in pria sente sapore;
 Quivi s' inganna, e dietro ad esso corre,

^{89, 90} Because 'ciascuno effetto ritenga della natura della sua cagione.'
 Conv. iii. 2.

⁸⁹ **lieto**; cf. xxv. 70.

⁹¹ Cf. Convito iv. 12: E perchè la sua conoscenza prima è imperfetta, per non essere sperta, nè dottrinata, piccioli beni le paiono grandi. The whole of this passage should be read.

⁹² Eth. Nic. iii. 4: τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ἀπάτη διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν εἶκε γίγνεσθαι. Boethius iv. Pr. 6: Improbos bonum quaerentes pravus error avertit.

after that, if guide or bit turns not its affection. Whence it behoved to lay down laws for a bit; it behoved to have a king who should discern of the true city at least the tower. The laws exist, but who puts hand to them? No man; because the shepherd who goes before may chew the cud, but has not the hooves divided. Wherefore the folk who

Se guida o fren non torce il suo amore.
 Onde convenne legge per fren porre :
 Convenne rege aver, che discernesse
 Della vera cittade almen la torre.
 Le leggi son, ma chi pon mano ad esse ?
 Nullo : perocchè il pastor che precede
 Ruminar può, ma non ha l' unghie fesse.^g

^g *Rugumar Gg. Cass.*

⁹³ Cf. De Mon. iii. 15 : Nisi homines, tanquam equi, sua bestialitate vagantes, in chamo et fraeno compescerentur in via. Propter quod opus fuit homini duplici directivo, secundum duplicem finem : scilicet summo pontifice, qui secundum revelata humanum genus perduceret ad vitam aeternam; et imperatore qui secundum philosophica documenta genus humanum ad temporalem felicitatem dirigeret.

⁹⁶ *la vera cittade.* Cf. xiii. 95. There is implied here the mystical connexion which Dante is fond of suggesting between the empire with its capital on earth, and the heavenly city 'onde Cristo è Romano' (xxxii. 102).

⁹⁷ Cf. vi. 96.

⁹⁹ 'Sie können viel schwatzen meint er über die Decretalen, aber sie selbst üben keine Tugend.'—Philalethes. Bianchi takes a similar view. The older commentators, however, give a different interpretation. Thus Landino: Prima bisogna che ogni governatore consideri bene ed intendi quello che ha a fare. Dopo pone l' unghie fesse per la discrezione, la qual distingue le cose temporali dalle spirituali. It is, however, simpler to suppose that Dante was thinking of St. Augustine's exposition: Fissa enim ungula ad mores ruminatio vero ad sapientiam pertinet. Quare ad mores fissa ungula? Quia difficile labitur. Ruminatio autem ad sapientiae doctrinam quomodo pertinet?

see their guide strike only at that good whereof they are greedy, feed themselves on that, and seek no further. Well canst thou see that evil guidance is the occasion that has made the world guilty, and not nature having become corrupt in you. Rome, that made the good world, was wont to have two suns, that showed the one and the other

Perchè la gente, che sua guida vede 100
 Pur a quel ben ferire ond' ella è ghiotta,
 Di quel sì pasce, e più oltre non chiede.
 Ben puoi veder che la mala condotta
 È la cagion che il mondo ha fatto reo,
 E non natura che in voi sia corrotta.
 Soleva Roma, che il buon mondo feo,
 Duo Soli aver, che l' una e l' altra strada

Quia dixit Scriptura, Thesaurus desiderabilis requiescit in ore sapientis, vir autem stultus glutit illum—Serm. 149. St. Thomas (S. T. ii. 1. Q. 102. Art. 6) is less clear on the point, but says that the division of the hoof signifies among other things 'distinctionem duarum naturarum in Christo, vel discretionem boni et mali.' The second alternative is of course practically identical with the interpretation of St. Augustine. Dante's use of *reggimenti* in line 128, and in xxxi. 123, rather suggests that this passage was in his mind.

¹⁰¹ *ferire*: of a bird of prey; as in ix. 25.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. De Mon. ii. 6: Romanus populus, subjiciendo sibi orbem, bonum publicum intendit, and Conv. iv. 5: Nè 'l mondo non fu mai nè sarà sì perfettamente disposto, come allora che alla voce d' un solo principe del roman popolo e comandante fu ordinato.

¹⁰⁷ *duo Soli*. Evidently with an allusion to the argument for the inferiority of the temporal power drawn from the analogy of the Sun and the Moon, which he discusses and dismisses.—De Mon. iii. 4. Similarly in lines 109, 110, the allusion in 'la spada col pastorale' is to the argument from the two swords, disposed of in § 9 of the same treatise. There are, he would seem to imply, two suns, not a sun and a moon; not two swords, but sword and pastoral staff. Cf. Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, ch. xv. ad fin.

road, both of the world and of God. The one has put out the other, and the sword is joined with the crook; and the one and the other together of very necessity it behoves that they go ill; because when joined the one fears not the other. If thou dost not believe me, give heed to the ear, how that every herb is known by its seed. Upon the land which Adige and Po water, were worth and courtesy wont to be found before that Frederick had strife; now may a secure passage be had there by whosoever has through

Facean vedere, e del mondo e di Deo.
 L' un l' altro ha spento, ed è giunta la spada
 Col pastorale, e l' uno e l' altro insieme 110
 Per viva forza mal convien che vada;
 Perocchè giunti l' un l' altro non teme.
 Se non mi credi, pon mente alla spiga,
 Ch' ogni erba si conosce per lo seme.
 In sul paese ch' Adige e Po riga,
 Solea valore e cortesia trovarsi,
 Prima che Federico avesse briga:
 Or può sicuramente indi passarsi

^{109, 110} There would seem to be an allusion here to the action of Boniface VIII. after the victory of Albert of Hapsburg over Adolf of Nassau. Not only did he refuse to crown the conqueror, but, says Sismondi, 'placing the crown on his own head, he seized a sword, and cried: "I am Caesar, I am emperor, I will defend the rights of the empire."'—Repub. Ital. ch. xxiv.

¹¹⁵ Lombardy, the native, or at least ancestral land of the speaker.

¹¹⁶ **valore e cortesia** are coupled, Inf. xvi. 67. The latter is the translation into act of the former.—Bianchi. Cortesia e onestate è tutt' uno; e perocchè nelle corti anticamente le virtù e li belli costumi s' usavano (siccome oggi s' usa il contrario) si tolse questo vocabolo dalle corti.—Conv. ii. 11.

¹¹⁷ I.e. before the quarrel between Frederick II. and the Church, when the latter took up the sword.

¹¹⁸ '*Indi vale per quel luogo.*'—Corticelli, instancing this line. It is more usually an adverb of time.

shame given up speaking with good men or drawing near them. There are indeed three old men still, in whom the ancient age reproves the new, and it seems to them long ere God remove them to a better life—Conrad of Palazzo, and the good Gerard, and Guy of Castel, who is better named in French fashion the simple Lombard. Say from

Per qualunque lasciasse, per vergogna,
Di ragionar coi buoni, o d' appressarsi. 120
Ben v' en tre vecchi ancora, in cui rampogna
L' antica età la nuova, e par lor tardo
Che Dio a miglior vita li ripogna ;
Currado da Palazzo, e il buon Gherardo,
E Guido da Castel, che me' si noma
Francescamente il semplice Lombardo.

119, 120 Bianchi renders 'by whoever has ceased [to pass there] through shame of,' etc. Another reading, which Fraticelli prefers, is *coi buoni, d' appressarsi*. For *lasciare di*, cf. xiv. 55; and for *per* (in *per qualunque*), xv. 8.

121 *en = sono*: formed directly from *è*.

124, 125 Gherardo da Cammino of Treviso is named in Convito iv. 14 as an instance of nobility. He was so much respected that, according to Philalethes, the brothers Azzo and Francesco of Este sought knight-hood at his hands. His son Richard married the daughter of Nino Visconti of Pisa. Conrad of Palazzo was a gentleman of Brescia. Philalethes says he was *Podestà* of Siena in 1279, 'in which year that city concluded peace with the Florentines.' But this was in 1269, soon after the defeat of the Sienese at Colle. However, Conrad being a Gueff, may have been put in by the Florentines. His services as *Podestà* seem to have been much sought after. Guido da Castello is also commemorated in the Convito (iv. 16). He was of Reggio, and seems from a notice in the Ottimo to have been a kind of *πρόξενος* to the French who passed that way. Hence, probably, the allusion in line 126. The explanation of some commentators that 'Lombard' was a general name in France for an Italian is not to the point, for if he was a Lombard there is nothing specially French in calling him so.

him not, but if I were to take it from his daughter Gaia. God be with you, for further I come not with you. Thou seest the whiteness, which sends its rays through the smoke, already gleaming; and it behoves me to depart—the angel is there—before that he appears.’ Thus he turned, and would no longer hear me.

S' io nol toglieffi da sua figlia Gaia. 140
 Dio sia con voi, chè più non vegno vosco.
 Vedi l' albòr che per lo fumo raia,
 Già biancheggiare, e me convien partirmi,
 L' Angelo è ivi, prima ch' egli paia :ⁱ
 Così tornò, e più non volle udirmi.^k

ⁱ *ch' io gli appaia* Cass. *W.* ; *che gli ap.* 3 ; *che li paia* Gg. 124 ; *che 'l d' paia* Land. (note).

^k *parlò* Ald. Land. ; *che più* Gg.

¹⁴⁰ As to Gaia's character we have diametrically opposite evidence. The Ottimo says : 'Madonna Gaja fu donna di tal reggimento circa le dilettaçioni amorose, ch' era notorio il suo nome per tutta Italia' ; and Benvenuto : *Mulier quidem vere gaia et vana et trevisana tota amorosa* ; while John of Serravalle, Bishop of Rimini, writing some forty years later, calls her '*prudens domina, literata, et magnae prudentiae, maximae pulchritudinis.*' With him Buti agrees. See Blanc, Erkl., and Foscolo, *Discorso sul testo*, § 62.

CANTO XVII

ARGUMENT

They come out of the smoke as the sun is sinking. Before they reach the ascent to the next circle Dante falls into a trance, and sees, as in a vision, certain notable examples of wrath and its punishment. They enter the fourth circle, where the sin of sloth is purged. Second sunset. Virgil explains how love is the root of all sin, no less than of all virtue.

BETHINK thee, reader, if ever in the Alps a mist-cloud has enfolded thee, through the which thou sawest not otherwise than moles through their skin, how when the humid and thick vapours begin to grow thin the globe of the sun enters feebly through them ; and thy imagination will be

RICORDITI, lettor, se mai nell' alpe
Ti colse nebbia, per la qual vedessi
Non altrimenti che per pelle talpe :
Come quando i vapori umidi e spessi
A diradar cominciansi, la spera
Del Sol debilmente entra per essi :
E fia la tua immagine leggiera

³ Aristotle De An. iii. 1 : φαίνεται ἡ σπάλαξ ὑπὸ τὸ δέρμα ἔχουσα ὀφθαλμούς.

⁷ Both Bianchi and Philalethes understand *leggiera* as meaning 'weak' : 'you will form but a faint image.' There seems no reason

nimble in coming to see how I first beheld again the sun, which was already in its setting. So, making my own equal to the faithful steps of my Master, I issued forth from such a cloud to the rays already dead upon the low shores. O power of fancy, that at whiles so snatchest us from external things, that a man heeds not whereas around are sounding

In giugnere a veder com' io rividi
 Lo sole in pria, che già nel corcare era.^a
 Sì pareggiando i miei coi passi fidi 10
 Del mio Maestro usci' fuor di tal nube,
 Ai raggi morti già nei bassi lidi.
 O immaginativa, che ne rube
 Tal volta sì di fuor, ch' uom non s' accorge,
 Perchè d' intorno suonin mille tube,

^a *calcar* (for *calar*) *Gg.*

for this, nor is it quite easy to see the sense of it. Dante has said that the smoke was darker than a dark night, but it does not follow that it was denser than an Alpine mist; nor if it were, would the phenomenon he describes be very different in the two cases.

¹² But they were now halfway up the mountain, so that the sun had not set to them.

¹³ *immaginativa* is the faculty by which we are capable of *fantasia*. This is the *φαντασία* of De Anima iii. 3, where it is defined as *κίνησις ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν γενομένης*. Elsewhere he says that *μνημὴ* and *φαντασία* belong to the same part of the soul; which Aquinas (S. T. i. Q. 78. A. 4) expands by making *fantasia*: *sensus communis*: *memoria*: *aestimativa*. Dante uses rather different phraseology, e.g. in V.N. § 16, where he says: 'quando la mia memoria movesse la fantasia ad immaginare.' Cf. l. 7.

^{14, 15} So Locke, Essay ii. Ch. 9, § 4: How often may a man observe in himself that whilst his mind is intently employed in the contemplation of some objects, and curiously surveying some ideas that are there, it takes no notice of impressions of sounding bodies made upon the organ of hearing.—The state of mind here indicated is the converse of that which is portrayed in the opening lines of Canto iv.

¹⁵ *perchè*. So in v. 58.

a thousand trumpets, who moves thee, if the sense set thee not forth? Light moves thee, which is given form in heaven, of itself, or through a will which sends it down. Of the impiety of her, who changed her form into the bird which most delights in singing, in my imagination appeared the traces; and here was my mind so restrained within itself, that from without came nothing then to be received by it. Next rained down within my deep fantasy one crucified, despitful and proud in his visage, and so he was dying. Around him were the great Ahasuerus, Esther his wife, and the just Mordecai, who was in speech

Chi muove te, se il senso non ti porge?
 Muoveti lume, che nel Ciel s' informa,
 Per sè, o per voler che giù lo scorge.
 Dell' empiezza di lei, che mutò forma
 Nell' uccel che a cantar più si diletta, 20
 Nell' immagine mia apparve l' orma :
 E qui fu la mia mente sì ristretta
 Dentro da sè, che di fuor non venìa
 Cosa che fosse ancor da lei ricetta.
 Poi piovette dentro all' alta fantasia
 Un crocifisso dispettoso e fiero
 Nella sua vista, e cotal si morìa.
 Intorno ad esso era il grande Assuero,
 Ester sua sposa, e il giusto Mardocheo,

¹⁶ I.e. if the impression corresponds to no external object.

^{19, 20} Dante takes the less common version, which makes Procne the nightingale and Philomela the swallow. In *Ecl.* vi. 81, though not elsewhere, Virgil seems to follow the same. See also *Ar. Rhet.* iii. 3 fin.

²¹ **orma**, 'footprint'; hence impression generally.

²⁵ **piovve**=simply 'came down'; cf. *Inf.* xxx. 95; also *Canto xxxii.* 110. Note the retention of the Greek accent in **fantasia**.

and act so incorrupt. And as this image broke of itself, in fashion of a bubble whereto fails the water beneath which it was made, there rose in my vision a maiden weeping bitterly, and she was saying: 'O queen, wherefore for wrath hast thou chosen to be naught? Thou hast slain thyself not to lose Lavinia; now thou hast lost me: I am she that grieve, mother, for thy ruin rather than for another's.' As, when of a sudden a new day strikes on the closed sight, sleep breaks, that quivers when broken before it wholly dies, so my imagination fell down as soon as a light smote my

Che fu al dire ed al far così intero. 30

E come questa immagine rompeo

Sè per sè stessa, a guisa d' una bulla^b

Cui manca l' acqua sotto qual si feo:

Surse in mia visione una fanciulla,

Piangendo forte, e diceva: O regina,

Perchè per ira hai voluto esser nulla?

Ancisa t' hai per non perder Lavina;

Or m' hai perduta: io son essa che lutto,

Madre, alla tua pria ch' all' altrui ruina.

Come si frange il sonno, ove di butto 40

Nuova luce percuote il viso chiuso,

Che fratto guizza pria che muoia tutto:

Così l' immaginar mio cadde giuso,

Tosto che un lume il volto mi percosse^c

^b *Per sè Gg.*

^c *il lume Gg. Cass. Ald. Land.*

³³ **sotto qual**: the omission of the article is unusual. See Corticelli, p. 79, 'È abuso de' volgari.' Diez iii. 339.

³⁴⁻³⁹ See Aen. xii. 593-607. As Philaethes remarks, Dante supplies the words which Virgil only alludes to.

⁴⁰ **di butto**. Cf. Fr. *tout d'un coup*.

face, greater by far than that which is in our wont. I was turning myself to see where I was, when a voice said: 'Here is the ascent,' which removed me from every other thought, and made my wish to behold who he was that was speaking, so prompt, as that which never reposes, if it be not met. But as at the Sun, which weighs down our sight, and by excess [of light] veils its form, so my power here failed. 'This is a spirit of God, who is directing us on the way up, without prayer, and with his own light himself

Maggiore assai che quel ch' è in nostr' uso.
 I' mi volgea per vedere ov' io fosse,
 Quand' una voce disse: Qui si monta;
 Che da ogni altro intento mi rimosse;
 E fece la mia voglia tanto pronta
 Di riguardar chi era che parlava, 50
 Che mai non posa, se non si raffronta.
 Ma come al sol, che nostra vista grava,
 E per soverchio sua figura vela,
 Così la mia virtù quivi mancava.
 Questi è divino spirito, che ne la
 Via d' andar su ne drizza senza prego,
 E col suo lume sè medesimo cela.

⁵¹ There is a mixture of constructions here. For **posa** we expect *posato avrebbe*, followed by *se non fosse raffrontata*. But the words have reference to the future as well as the past. The Ottimo says: 'L' angelica voce fu di tanta dolcezza, che dice che l' animo suo non si poserà mai, in fino che non *si raffronta a riudirla*' (so I read the last words).

⁵³ Cf. for the idea viii. 36; and Milton P.L. iii. 380: 'Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear.' **soverchio**, cf. xv. 15.

⁵⁴ Cf. Par. xxxiii. 142, and see note at end of Canto iv.

⁵⁶ **senza prego**, i.e. without being asked.

conceals himself. So deals he with us as a man does with himself, for he who awaits a prayer, and sees the need, unkindly is already betaking himself to its refusal. Now let us set the foot in accordance with such invitation ; let us be diligent to mount before it grows dark, for after it will not be possible, except the day returns.' So spake my Leader ; and I with him, we turned our steps to a stair ; and soon as I was at the first step I felt as it were one move wing near me and fan me in the face, and say : '*Beati pacifici* who are free from evil wrath.'

Si fa con noi, come l' uom si fa sego :

Chè quale aspetta prego, e l' uopo vede,

Malignamente già si mette al nego.

60

Ora accordiamo a tanto invito il piede :^d

Procacciam di salir pria che s' abbui :

Chè poi non si poria, se il dì non riede.

Così disse il mio Duca ; ed io con lui

Volgemmo i nostri passi ad una scala :

E tosto ch' io al primo grado fui,

Senti' mi presso quasi un muover d' ala,

E ventarmi nel volto, e dir : *Beati*

Pacifici, che son senza ira mala.

^d *secondiamo* 5.

⁵⁸ **come l' uom si fa sego.** The commentators nearly all agree in seeing a reference to the precept 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' Landino's 'cioe l' un huomo con l' altro' is clearly wrong.

⁵⁹ An inversion of the order intended. 'He who sees another in need, and waits to be asked for help.'

⁶⁷ **muover d' ala** ; not, I think, as Philaethes (agreeing with Blanc) translates 'Flügelschlag,' for, if so, the construction of **ventar** and **dir** will be changed ; but rather an instrumental use of **dì**. Corticelli says : '*Dì* serve all' ablativo in vece di *con*.'

Already were so much raised above us the last rays, which the night follows, that the stars were appearing on many sides. 'O my virtue, wherefore so meltest thou away?' I began to say within myself, for I felt the power of my legs placed in truce. We were where the stair mounted no more upwards, and we were fixed, just like a ship which comes ashore on the beach. And I listened a little if I might hear anything in the new circle; afterwards I turned back to my Master, and said: 'Sweet my Father, say what offence is purged here in the circle where we are? if our

Già eran sopra noi tanto levati 70
 Gli ultimi raggi che la notte segue,
 Che le stelle apparivan da più lati.
 O virtù mia, perchè sì ti dilege?
 Fra me stesso dicea, chè mi sentiva
 La possa delle gambe posta in tregue.
 Noi eravam dove più non saliva
 La scala su, ed eravamo affissi,
 Pur come nave ch' alla piaggia arriva :
 Ed io attesi un poco s' io udissi
 Alcuna cosa nel nuovo girone : 80
 Poi mi rivolsi al mio Maestro, e dissi :
 Dolce mio Padre, di', quale offensione
 Si purga qui nel giro, dove semo ?

⁷⁰ They enter the fourth, or middle circle, that of sloth, and the second night begins.

⁷³ It is almost impossible to render *virtù* here. It is not, of course, strictly speaking, the *faculty*, *δύναμις*, of locomotion, which vanishes at the approach of night, but the exercise, or *ἐνέργεια* of it: 'my operant powers their functions leave to do.' Meanwhile the *δύναμις* (*possa*) may justly be said to be *posta in tregue*. See Grote on Ar. Met. η 1048 b (p. 615).

feet be stayed, be not thy discourse.' And he to me : ' The love of the good fallen short of its duty, right here restores itself ; here makes again its stroke the ill-delayed oar. But that thou mayest understand yet more openly, turn thy mind to me, and thou shalt reap some good fruit of our tarrying. Neither Creator nor creature,' he began, ' was ever, my son, without love, either natural, or of the mind : and thou knowest it. The natural is always free from

Se i piè si stanno, non stea tuo sermone.
 Ed egli a me : L' amor del bene, scemo
 Di suo dover, quiritta si ristora :
 Qui si ribatte il mal tardato remo.^e
 Ma perchè più aperto intendi ancora,
 Volgi la mente a me, e prenderai
 Alcun buon frutto di nostra dimora. 90
 Nè creator, nè creatura mai,
 Cominciò ei, figliuol, fu senza amore,
 O naturale, o d' animo ; e tu il sai.
 Lo natural è sempre senza errore :^f

^e *Et si rib. Gg.*

^f *Lo n. fu Ald. Land. Bi.*

⁸⁵ 'Acedia est fastidium interni boni.'—St. Augustine. 'Quod quemdam torporem incutit animo.'—St. Bernard.

⁸⁷ Bianchi's explanation 'qui si punisce il tardo rematore,' is, as Blanc points out, weak, and also does not account for *ribatte*. Landino halts between two opinions : 'Usa traslatione dalla ciurma di galea, laquale perche voga pigramente, è con battiture punita, e costretta a battere il remo.' Philalethes has : 'Hier holt wieder ein man durch frischen Ruderschlag die schlimme Zögrung.' Cf. xii. 5.

⁹¹⁻⁹³ Cf. xvi. 90. **naturale o d' animo**, instinctive or rational.

⁹⁴ Sum. Theol. i. Q. 60. Art. 1 : 'Sicut cognitio naturalis semper est vera ita dilectio naturalis semper est recta ; cum amor naturalis nihil aliud sit quam inclinatio naturae indita ab auctore naturae. Dicere ergo quod inclinatio naturae non sit recta est derogare auctori naturae.'

error ; but the other may err through a bad object, or by excess, or by defect of vigour. While in regard to the first it is well directed, and in regard to the second moderates itself, it cannot be an occasion of evil delight ; but when it turns aside to ill, or runs in the way of good with more care or with less than it ought, against the Maker operates His work. Hence thou mayest understand,

Ma l' altro puote errar per malo obbietto,
 O per troppo, o per poco di vigore.
 Mentre ch' egli è nel primo ben diretto,^g
 E nei secondi sè stesso misura,
 Esser non può cagion di mal diletto ;
 Ma quando al mal si torce, o con più cura, 100
 O con men che non dee, corre nel bene,
 Contra il fattore adovra sua fattura.
 Quinci comprender puoi, ch' esser conviene

^g *ne' primi Ald. (1) Land. (text) W. Bi.*

^{97, 98} I have followed the reading of the Aldine of 1515, **nel primo**, which is also that of Gg. and Cass., and seems to give a better sense than that which is obtained by reading **nei primi ben**, and taking it to mean 'towards the first goods,' i.e. God and virtue, the second being the goods of this world. As I understand the words they mean—'while, as regards the object, the love is well directed ; and, as regards degree, is duly moderated, erring neither by excess nor by defect.' And with this the Ottimo seems to agree, though the passage is obviously corrupt : 'quando l' uomo si costituisce cosa, e così è [read, *cost. cost, che sia*] buono l' obbietto, e mala [read *l' ama*] quanto dee.' So the comm. of another MS. at Cambridge : 'cioe quando a bono obbietto,' and 'cioe nelle affezioni se misura.' **secondi** : plur. because comprising *troppo* and *poco*.

¹⁰³⁻¹⁰⁵ This is the foundation of Aquinas' ethical doctrine, to be found *passim* in S.T., e.g. ii. 1. Q. 28. A. 6 : Omne agens agit propter finem aliquem ; finis autem est bonum desideratum et amatum unicuique. Unde manifestum est quod omne agens quodcunque sit agit quamcunque

how it behoves that love should be the seed in you of every virtue, and of every operation which merits punishment. Now, seeing that love can never turn back its gaze from the weal of its subject, things are safe from hatred of themselves; and seeing that it is not possible to conceive any being as divided, or standing of itself apart, from its first cause, every affection is cut off from hating that.

Amor sementa in voi d' ogni virtute,
 E d' ogni operazion che merta pene.
 Or perchè mai non può dalla salute
 Amor del suo soggetto volger viso,^h
 Dall' odio proprio son le cose tute :
 E perchè intender non si può diviso,
 Nè per sè stante, alcuno esser dal primo, 110
 Da quello odiare ogni affetto è deciso.

^h *torcer viso W.*

actionem ex aliquo amore. It is of course a development of *ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*.

¹⁰⁶ sqq. Conv. iv. 22 : Ogni animale siccome ella è nato sì razionale come bruto sè medesimo ama. S.T. ii. 1. Q. 29. Art. 4 : Impossibile est quod aliquis odiat (*sic*) seipsum. So Bp. Butler, Sermon i. : There is no such thing as self-hatred.

¹⁰⁷ Witte's reading, *torcer*, is not only against the weight of authority, but I think inconsistent with the meaning. **Odio** is the exact opposite of **amore**; and, therefore, according to the rule stated in note to iv. 100, **volger** is the word required.

¹¹¹ Nor is it possible to hate God. Dante goes further than St. Thomas (S.T. ii. 2. Q. 34), who holds that though 'secundum essentiam suam' God cannot be hated, 'secundum quosdam justitiae suae effectus' He may be. Ought we not to read *effetto*, in the sense of 'creature,' here, as in xi. 3? In that place there is a v.l. *affetto*, showing that copyists confused the two. Of course the use of *effectus*, in the passage quoted from Aquinas, is in a different sense.

It remains, if in my division I rightly estimate, that the ill which is loved is that of the neighbour, and this love takes birth in three modes in your clay. There is who, through his neighbour being kept down, hopes for excellence, and only for this reason yearns that he may be from his greatness brought low. There is who fears to lose power, grace, honour, and fame, in case another mounts up, wherefore he grows so sad that he loves the contrary. And there is who through injury appears so to take shame that he becomes gluttonous of vengeance; and such an one it behoves that he put

Resta, se dividendo bene stimo,
Che il mal che s' ama è del prossimo : ed esso
Amor nasce in tre modi in vostro limo.

È chi, per esser suo vicin soppresso,
Spera eccellenza, e sol per questo brama
Ch' el sia di sua grandezza in basso messo.

È chi podere, grazia, onore, e fama ⁱ
Teme di perder, perch' altri sormonti,
Onde s' attrista sì che il contrario ama.

120

Ed è chi per ingiuria par ch' adonti
Sì che si fa della vendetta ghiotto ;
E tal convien che il male altrui impronti.

ⁱ *grande*, alt. to *gratia* Gg.

¹¹² **dividendo** in its technical sense as a logical term (*διαίρων*); from general to individuals.

¹²⁰ **il contrario**, his neighbour's abasement.

¹²³ **impronti**. There seems to be some uncertainty as to the meaning of this word. Blanc takes it (following apparently Vellutello) as a form of *imprentare*, and so in its modern use of 'stamps,' 'prints.' But the older commentator explains it by 'segni in altri'; the modern by 'imagines,' herein agreeing with Bianchi. The latter connects it with Fr. *emprunter*, as to which see Littré. The Ottimo has 'è impronto'

forward another's ill. This three-formed love bewails itself here below : now I will that thou understand the other, which hastes to the good with order violated. Each one confusedly apprehends a good wherein his mind may rest, and desires it ; wherefore each one strives to reach Him. If a too slow love draws you towards His sight, or to the search of Him, this gallery, after just penitence, torments you for it. Another good there is, which makes not the man happy ; it is not happiness, it is not the good essence, fruit and root of every good. The love which gives itself

Questo triforme amor quaggiù disotto
 Si piange : or vo' che tu dell' altro intende,
 Che corre al ben con ordine corrotto.
 Ciascun confusamente un bene apprende,
 Nel qual si queti l' animo, e desira :
 Per che di giunger lui ciascun contende.
 Se lento amor in lui veder vi tira, 130
 O a lui acquistar, questa cornice
 Dopo giusto penter ve ne martira.
 Altro ben è che non fa l' uom felice :
 Non è felicità, non è la buona
 Essenza, d' ogni ben frutto e radice.^k
 L' amor, ch' ad esso troppo s' abbandona,

^k *Essenza alcun bon frutto et laradice 5 ; d' ogni buon frutto r. W.*

(i.e. importunate) ; Philalethes, 'trachten nach.' I take it as directly from 'promptus,' 'impromptare.'

¹²⁸ **queti . . . desira.** See the passage from Aquinas quoted in note to xviii. 19.

¹³⁰ 'Peccatum acediae est quando quis contristatur in his quae ei imminet facienda propter Deum.' S. T. ii. 2. Q. 35. Art. 3, and 36. A. 1.

up too much to that bewails itself above us through three circles ; but how it is spoken of as tripartite, I say nothing thereof, to the end that thou mayest enquire of it for thyself.'

Di sopra à noi si piange per tre cerchi ;
Ma come tripartito si ragiona,
Tacciolo, acciocchè tu per te ne cerchi.

CANTO XVIII

ARGUMENT

During the night Virgil continues to explain how love is the root of all action, and proceeds further to discourse of free-will and the origin of morality. A great crowd of souls run quickly past, calling to mind instances of alacrity. The author speaks with a certain Abbot ; and after hearing the reproach of sloth from those who go last of the crowd, falls asleep.

THE profound Teacher had put an end to his reasoning, and was looking intently in my face, if I appeared content. And I, whom yet a new thirst began to urge, was silent outwardly, and within was saying, Perhaps the excessive inquiry that I make grieves him. But that truthful Father, who took note of the timid will that would not disclose itself, by speaking, furnished to me courage to speak.

Posto avea fine al suo ragionamento
L' alto Dottore, ed attento guardava
Nella mia vista s' io pareva contento :
Ed io, cui nuova sete ancor frugava,
Di fuor taceva, e dentro dicea : Forse
Lo troppo dimandar, ch' io fo, li grava.
Ma quel Padre verace, che s' accorse
Del timido voler che non s' apriva,
Parlando, di parlare ardir mi porse.

Wherefore I: 'Master, my sight is so quickened in thy light, that I discern clearly all that thy reasoning imports or describes; wherefore I pray thee, sweet Father dear, that thou demonstrate to me love, to which thou dost reduce all good working and its contrary.' 'Direct,' said he, 'towards me the keen eyes of thy understanding, and the error will be manifest to thee of the blind who make themselves leaders. The mind which is created ready to love is quick to move to everything which pleases it so soon

Ond' io : Maestro, il mio veder s' avviva 10
 Sì nel tuo lume, ch' io discerno chiaro
 Quanto la tua ragion porti, o descriva :
 Però ti prego, dolce Padre caro,
 Che mi dimostri amore, a cui riduci
 Ogni buono operare e il suo contraro.
 Drizza, disse, ver me l' acute luci
 Dello intelletto, e fieti manifesto
 L' error de' ciechi che si fanno duci.
 L' animo, ch' è creato ad amar presto,
 Ad ogni cosa è mobile che piace, 20

¹⁹ sqq. Cf. xvi. 90, xvii. 92-95. The mind is potentially capable of being attracted by pleasure, and is actually attracted by the presence of the pleasant object, or by the abstract notion which the apprehensive faculty (see below) forms of it in the mind. Thus desire, which may be good or bad, is aroused, and action follows: οὐ γὰρ ἡ ὁρεξις αὐτῇ ἢ ἀρχῇ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ νοῦ. . . . νοῦς μὲν οὖν πᾶς ὁρθὸς ὁρεξις δὲ καὶ φαντασία καὶ ὁρθὴ καὶ οὐκ ὁρθή (De An. iii. 10). Comparing the first clause of this with Eth. vi. 2 (πράξεως μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ προαίρεσις ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις . . . προαιρέσεως δὲ ὁρεξις), I think we must take **in atto**, not with Blanc, Bianchi, and Philalethes as = *actu*, but as depending on **desto**. See also note to l. 32 *infra*. Benvenuto has the curious reading *dal piacer innato*; and glosses: quam cito excitatur et movetur intus nata delectatione; which is clearly wrong.

as by the pleasure it is aroused to action. Your apprehensive power draws an intention from an essence which speaks true, and displays it within you, so that it makes the mind turn to that. And if, when turned back, it swerves towards it, that swerving is love, that is nature, which through pleasure is binding itself anew within you. Afterward, as the fire moves on high, by reason of its form, which has the nature to rise there where it abides most in its matter, so the mind seized

Tosto che dal piacere in atto è desto.
 Vostra apprensiva da esser verace
 Tragge intenzione, e dentro a voi la spiega,
 Sì che l' animo ad essa volger face.
 E se, rivolto, in ver di lei si piega,
 Quel piegare è amor, quello è natura,
 Che per piacer di nuovo in voi si lega.
 Poi come il fuoco muovesi in altura,
 Per la sua forma, ch' è nata a salire
 Là dove più in sua materia dura : 30

²² sqq. Apprehension or conception consists in the power which the mind has of forming an image of attributes. Images so formed are first intentions (*εἶδη, species intelligibiles*), as when we regard the individual Socrates as man, white, etc. Second intentions are obtained by abstracting the relations of first intentions to one another, as humanity, whiteness, etc. First intentions are predicable, second not.—Mansel. **da esser verace**: i.e. from God. Cf. Pascal: Les appréhensions des sens sont toujours vraies. De An. iii. 3: *αἱ μὲν [αἰσθησεις] ἀληθεῖς αἰ, αἱ δὲ φαντασῖαι γίνονται αἱ πλεονς ψευδεῖς*. And ib. 6: *ἡ τῶν ἀδιαρέτων νόησις ἐν τούτοις περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ψεῦδος*. Met. γ. 5 (1010 b): *περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὡς οὐ πᾶν τὸ φαινόμενον ἀληθές, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οὐδ' ἡ αἰσθησις ψευδὴς τοῦ ἰδίου ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἡ φαντασία οὐ ταῦτόν τῃ αἰσθήσει*. See Bonitz here, and to 1051 b. So S. T. i. Q. 85. A. 1.

²⁶⁻³¹ An expansion of xvii. 93.

²⁷ **si lega**, as we should say, 'is striking a fresh root.'

³⁰ I.e. towards the sphere of fire.

enters into desire, which is a motion of the spirit, and never reposes until the thing loved makes it rejoice. Now can it appear to thee how much the truth is hidden from the folk who aver that each love is, in itself, a laudable thing, because perhaps its matter appears always to be good; but not every seal is good, even though good be the wax.'

'Thy words, and my wit which follows them,' I answered him, 'have disclosed love to me; but that has made me

Così l' animo preso entra in disire
 Ch' è moto spiritale, e mai non posa
 Fin che la cosa amata il fa gioire.
 Or ti puote apparer quant' è nascosa
 La veritade alla gente ch' avvera
 Ciascuno amore in sè laudabil cosa;
 Perocchè forse appar la sua matera
 Sempr' esser buona; ma non ciascun segno
 È buono, ancor che buona sia la cera.
 Le tue parole e il mio seguace ingegno, 40
 Risposi io lui, m' hanno amor scoperto;
 Ma ciò m' ha fatto di dubbiar più pregno;

³¹ **preso**: a technical term for 'seized by the passion of love.' Cf. 'a ciascun alma presa' (V. N. § 3).

³² S. T. ii. 1. Q. 26. A. 2: *Prima igitur immutatio appetitus ab appetibili vocatur amor, qui nihil est quam complacentia appetibilis; et ex hac complacentia sequitur motus in appetibile qui est desiderium; et requies quae est gaudium.*

³⁷ **matera** must here be the mind, or rather, its *δύναμις* (ἔστιν ἡ ὕλη δύναμις. De An. ii. 1). Following the analogy of ll. 28-30, we have the tendency to rise: fire: the tendency to love: the mind; and *νοῦς πᾶς ὁρθός* comes in again.

⁴²⁻⁴⁵ The objection that 'apprehensum secundum sensum ex necessitate movet appetitum sensitivum' and therefore 'apprehensum secundum intellectum ex necessitate movet voluntatem' is dealt with by Aquinas S. T. i. Q. 82. A. 2.

teem more with doubt, in that if love is offered to us from without, and the soul goes not with other foot, whether it goes straight or crooked is not its own merit.' And he to me: 'All that reason here sees I can tell thee; beyond that point wait only on Beatrice, for it is work of faith. Every substantial form that is separate from matter, and is in union with it, has a specific virtue stored within itself,

Chè s' amore è di fuori a noi offerto,
 E l' anima non va con altro piede,
 Se dritto o torto va, non è suo merto.
 Ed egli a me: Quanto ragion qui vede
 Dir ti poss' io; da indi in là t' aspetta
 Pure a Beatrice, ch' è opra di fede.^a
 Ogni forma sustanzial, che setta
 È da materia, ed è con lei unita,
 Specifica virtude ha in sè colletta,

50

^a *che opera è Cass. W.; che opera di Gg.*

⁴⁹ *Formae separatae* are God, angels, human souls. The last (which, as involving the $\tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \eta\upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$, or 'essential quiddity,' are *substantial* forms) are united with matter to constitute the man ('*unus est homo anima rationalis et caro*'), and possess the faculty of forming images or *species*; for so I think we must understand *specifica*, and not as merely = *special*, *peculiar*. De An. iii. 4, where Aristotle approves the view that the $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\ \nu\omicron\eta\tau\iota\kappa\eta$ is $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota$ the $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$. St. Thomas's doctrine as to the origin of knowledge is contained in S. T. i. Q. 84, 85, which should be read, together with the sketch of the psychology of Thomas Aquinas given by Philalethes at the end of this Canto, by any one who wishes to comprehend Dante's system of ethics and politics. Lines 61-69 explain how the former science is connected with his psychology and ultimately with his political system, as may be seen by comparing xvi. 75 sqq., and De Mon. i. 14.

It may be noticed that the commentator of Cass. takes *setta* to mean *septa*, 'id est circumclusa.' Of course he is wrong. The *postilla* to the line gives an alternative 'abscissa.'

the which without operation is not felt, nor demonstrates itself save by effect, as by green leaves life in a plant. Wherefore, man knows not whence comes the understanding of the first cognitions, and the affection of the first objects of appetite, for they are in you, as in the bee the desire of making its honey; and this first volition admits not desert of praise or of blame. Now, whereas about this

La qual senza operar non è sentita,
 Nè si dimostra ma che per effetto,
 Come per verdi fronde in pianta vita.^b
 Però, là onde vegna lo intelletto
 Delle prime notizie, uomo non sape,
 E dei primi appetibili l' affetto,
 Chè sono in voi, sì come studio in ape
 Di far lo mele; e questa prima voglia
 Merto di lode o di biasmo non cape. 60
 Or, perchè a questa ogni altra si raccoglie,^c

^b *in p. è irta Gg.*

^c *E perchè Gg.*

⁵² ὁ ἄρα καλούμενος τῆς ψυχῆς νοῦς οὐθέν ἐστιν ἐνεργεία τῶν ὄντων πρὶν νοεῖν. De An. iii. 4.

⁵⁴ Cf. xvi. 113, 114.

⁵⁵⁻⁵⁷ 'The origins of knowledge and appetite are unknown.' It will be seen that Dante does not hold the doctrine of Innate Ideas. Nothing is innate save free-will. See, though rather for the intellectual than the moral side of the question, Grote, *Aristotle*, chap. 8 (Posterior Analytics).

⁵⁸ **ape.** Aristotle is fond of speculating on the nature of the understanding possessed by bees. See Bonitz to Met. a. 1 (980 b).

^{59, 60} Eth. Nic. ii. 1: δῆλον ὅτι οὐδεμία τῶν ἡθικῶν ἀρετῶν φύσει ἡμῶν ἐγγίνεται. See also Conv. iii. 4.

⁶¹ There are several interpretations of this line. Of those who render **perchè** 'in order that,' some take **questa** to be the **virtù** about to be mentioned, but this, as Bianchi says, involves too great a dislocation of the words. Others, e.g. Witte and Philalethes, interpret 'in ti

every other gathers itself, there is innate in you the faculty which counsels, and which should hold the threshold of assent. This is the principle whereto occasion of desert in you is attached, according as it gathers up and winnows out good or guilty loves. They who in reasoning have gone to the foundation have taken note of that innate liberty, wherefore they have left morality to the world. Whence let us lay down that of necessity arises every love which kindles itself within you; of keeping it in

Innata v' è la virtù che consiglia,^d
 E dell' assenso de' tener la soglia.^e
 Quest' è il principio là onde si piglia
 Cagion di meritare in voi, secondo^f
 Che buoni e rei amori accoglie e viglia.
 Color che ragionando andaro al fondo,
 S' accorser d' esta innata libertate;
 Però moralità lasciaro al mondo.
 Onde pognam che di necessitate
 Surga ogni amor che dentro a voi s' accende,

^d *Innata n' è v. che la cons. Gg.*

^e *Et e lascenso da Cass.; ond' ella ha senso di 3.*

^f *Ragion Gg. Cass. 1234 W.*

order that every other will may unite itself with this primary and blameless will'; but they seem to forget that, if blameless, it also has no merit, being merely instinctive. In order that desert may exist, a choice must be made. I have, therefore, followed Comm. Cass. and Bianchi, taking *perchè*, as in v. 58, xvii. 15, almost = 'although.'

⁶² *la virtù*, i.e. free-will. S. T. i. Q. 22. A. 2: 'Agunt creaturae rationales per liberum arbitrium, quo consiliantur et eligunt.'

^{64, 65} S. T. ii. 1. Q. 114. A. 4: Humanus actus habet rationem merendi ex parte liberi arbitrii; in quantum scilicet homo habet prae ceteris creaturis ut per se agat, voluntarie agens. Eth. Nic. iii. 5: 'Ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ κακία.

⁶⁹ *moralità*, the science of ethics.

check the power is in you. The noble faculty, Beatrice understands for free-will, and therefore look that thou have it in mind, if she takes in hand to speak to thee of it.'

The Moon slow moving at about the night's meridian was making the stars appear more scant to us, shaped like a bucket that should be all glowing; and was running her course against the heaven, by that road which the Sun

Di ritenerlo è in voi la potestate.
 La nobile virtù Beatrice intende
 Per lo libero arbitrio, e però guarda
 Che l' abbi a mente, s' a parlar ten prende.
 La luna, quasi a mezza notte tarda,
 Facea le stelle a noi parer più rade,
 Fatta com' un secchione che tutto arda.
 E correa contra il ciel, per quelle strade

⁷³ Beatrice nowhere uses this expression, but it may be deduced from *Par. v. 19 sqq.* Cf. *De Mon. i. 14*: *Haec libertas est maximum donum humanae naturae a Deo collatum. virtù*: 'Liberum arbitrium . . . est virtus appetitiva.' *S.T. i. Q. 83. A. 2.*

⁷⁶ The usual interpretation is 'latened in its rising nearly to mid-night'; but, in the first place, it would rise fully an hour before that time; and, secondly, the words must be meant to indicate the hour which we have now reached, and which would seem from the long conversation which has taken place to be a good deal later. I therefore prefer to take *mezza notte* as meaning, like *mezzo dì*, the meridian line, only with regard to those heavenly bodies which are seen at night; comparing *xxv. 2, 3* and *xxxiii. 103, 104. quasi*, much as in *iii. 131*. The time would thus be between 2 and 3 A.M., the moon 'southing' at this age soon after 3.

⁷⁸ *secchione* is the large hemispherical bucket which may still be seen in Italy. Looked at somewhat obliquely the outline of one of these forms no bad comparison for the gibbous moon. *arda*: for the use of subj. see *Diez iii. 347*.

inflames at that time, when the man of Rome sees him between the Sards and the Corsicans as he is setting: and that noble shade for whose sake Pietola has a greater name than Mantuan village, had put aside the burthen of my load. Wherefore I, who had gleaned his reasoning open and clear upon my questions, was standing like a man who, drowsy, wanders. But this drowsiness was taken from me suddenly by folk who behind our shoulders were already turned

Che il Sole infiamma allor, che quel da Roma 80
Trai Sardi e i Corsi il vede quando cade ;
E quell' ombra gentil, per cui si noma
Pietola più che villa Mantovana,
Del mio carcar disposto avea la soma.
Perch' io, che la ragione aperta e piana
Sovra le mie questioni avea ricolta,
Stava com' uom, che sonnolento vana.
Ma questa sonnolenza mi fu tolta
Subitamente da gente, che dopo
Le nostre spalle a noi era già volta. 90

^{80, 81} I.e. when he sets west by south, or about the end of November. *strade* means therefore the *stars* of Scorpio, corresponding with the *sign* of Sagittarius, in which the sun is at that season, and of which the moon would by this have traversed about half.

⁸³ Or 'has a greater name than Mantua town.' I have followed the interpretation apparently taken by Pietro di Dante—'ultra ulla villas Mantuanas nominatur,' which is preferable, as *villa*, though used by Dante occasionally for 'town,' more often meant 'village.' See, for instance, Landino's note to xv. 97, where he says, following Buti, that *sire*, in the sense of *signore*, and *villa*, in that of *città*, are both French words. Here, too, he begins by saying that Pietola is 'una villa del Mantovano.' See Dict. Crusc. s.v. Even to the time of Ludovico Guicciardini, the use of *villa* to mean 'a town' was regarded as a Gallicism. For the readings of this line, see Moore, Text. Crit. . No less than 58 MSS. have *Pietosa più che nulla* !

toward us. And as Ismenus once saw, and Asopus, a fury and rout along their banks by night, only because the Thebans had need of Bacchus, just such [a rout] through that circle goes with a prancing, according to what I saw, of those coming whose rider is a good will and a just love. Soon they were upon us, because all that mighty crowd was moving at a run ; and two in front were shouting

E quale Ismeno già vide ed Asopo,
 Lungo di sè di notte furia e calca,
 Pur che i Teban di Bacco avessero uopo :
 Tale per quel giron suo passo falca,
 Per quel ch' io vidi, di color venendo,
 Cui buon volere e giusto amor cavalca.
 Tosto fur sovra noi, perchè correndo
 Si movea tutta quella turba magna ;^g
 E due dinanzi gridavan piangendo :

^g *Si monta Cass.*

⁹¹ So the river Ismenus says of himself (Stat. Theb. ix. 434) :

Ille ego clamatus sacris ululatibus amnis
 Qui molles thiasos Bacchaeaque cornua puro
 Fonte lavare feror.

There would seem to be an allusion to the 'Bacchae' of Euripides.

⁹⁴ **falca.** There is some uncertainty as to the force of this word. Landino explains it 'piegare,' and this is the meaning usually adopted, e.g. by Philalethes, who renders 'dreht,' and looking to the etymological connexion between 'falx' and 'flectere,' it is perhaps the most satisfactory. Bianchi thinks it is a metaphor from the action of a high-stepping horse ; Fr. *faucher*. Lorenzo de' Medici tells us that *falci* is the proper word for the part of a horse's leg above the hock. Witte, from his rendering 'schleunigten,' seems to follow those who, like Vellutello, take it as the opposite of *difalcare* ; 'increase,' as opposed to 'take away from,' but this is contrary to all etymology. May not the true reading be *valca*, 'strides' ?

in their weeping: 'Mary ran with haste into the hill-country,' and 'Caesar, to subdue Ilerda, stung Marseilles, and then sped into Spain.' 'Haste, haste, that the time be not lost through too little love,' were the others crying after them; 'so that the study to do well may refresh grace.'

'O folk, in whom keen fervour at the present haply repairs negligence and delay put by you, through lukewarmness, in well-doing, this man who lives (and surely I do not lie to you) wishes to go upward, so only that the Sun light us again; wherefore tell us on what side the opening is near.' These were words of my Leader; and one of those spirits said: 'Come behind us, and thou wilt

Maria corse con fretta alla montagna; 100

E: Cesare, per soggiogare Ilerda,

Punse Marsilia, e poi corse in Ispagna.

Ratto, ratto, che il tempo non si perda

Per poco amor, gridavan gli altri appresso;

Che studio di ben far grazia rinverda.

O gente, in cui fervore acuto adesso^h

Ricompie forse negligenza e indugioⁱ

Da voi per tepidezza in ben far messo,

Questi, che vive (e certo io non vi bugio)

Vuole andar su, purchè il Sol ne riluca; 110

Però ne dite ond' è presso il pertugio.

Parole furon queste del mio Duca;

E un di quegli spirti disse: Vieni

Diretro a noi, e troverai la buca.

^h *furor Gg.*; *favore* 12345.

ⁱ *Ricuopre Gg.*

¹⁰⁰ St. Luke i. 39.

¹⁰¹ Caesar B.C. i. 36 sqq., Lucan Phars. iii. 453-455, etc.

¹¹⁴ That is, go in the same direction as we are going. Of course Dante could not move now, as it was night.

find the orifice. We are so full of will to move ourselves that rest we cannot; therefore pardon us if discourtesy thou deemest our justice. I was Abbot in Saint Zeno at Verona, under the empire of the good Redbeard, of whom Milan yet talks grieving. And such an one has already one foot within the grave that shortly will lament that

Noi siam di voglia a muoverci sì pieni,
 Che ristar non potem : però perdona,
 Se villania nostra giustizia tieni.
 Io fui Abate in San Zeno a Verona,
 Sotto lo imperio del buon Barbarossa,
 Di cui dolente ancor Melan ragiona.
 E tale ha già l' un piè dentro la fossa,

120

¹¹⁸ There is some uncertainty about the speaker. The older people say his name was Albert; but there appears to have been no abbot of that name in the reign of Barbarossa, the incumbent of the office during the latter part of that time being named Gerard. One *Alberico* was, however, abbot in 1145. The *Ottimo* gives no name; but the mistake probably arose from a confusion of the speaker with the person of whom he speaks. In connexion with Dante's choice of an ecclesiastic as an example of 'accidia,' it may be noted that St. Bernard says: Hoc quidem vitio religiosi homines maxime affliguntur.

¹¹⁹ There is some controversy as to whether **buon** is to be regarded as ironical. Bianchi and Witte both think so, the latter oddly enough speaking as though the epithet were used by Dante in his own person. The answer to this question must depend upon who the speaker is. It is to be noted that Verona was the last of the Lombard towns to join the league against Frederick I.; in fact, she did not do so till 1164, two years after the destruction of Milan. Now, if any abbot of San Zeno died during those two years he would naturally speak favourably of the great emperor; whether this was so I am unable to ascertain. After peace was made in 1183, Frederick and the Pope visited Verona together, and were, according to the chronicler, 'hilariter recepti et honorifice pertractati,' which looks as if the 'Redbeard' had been personally as popular there as other *Tedeschi* were long afterwards, though his rule may have been no less detested than theirs.

¹²¹ **tale.** Albert della Scala, father of Can Grande. He died in 1301

monastery, and will be sorry to have had power there ; because his son, evil in his whole body, and in his mind worse, and who was basely born, has he placed in the room of its true pastor.' I know not if he said more, or if he held his peace, so much further had already been traversed by us ; but this I heard, and to retain it pleased me. And he who was my succour at every need said : ' Turn thee hither, see two of them come putting a bit on sloth.' In rear of all they were saying : ' The

Che tosto piangerà quel monistero,
 E tristo fia d' avervi avuta possa.
 Perchè suo figlio, mal del corpo intero,
 E della mente peggio, e che mal nacque,
 Ha posto in luogo di suo pastor vero.^k
 Io non so se più disse, o s' ei si tacque,
 Tant' era già di là da noi trascorso ;
 Ma questo intesi, e ritener mi piacque.
 E quei, che m' era ad ogni uopo soccorso, 130
 Disse : Volgiti in qua, vedine due
 Venire dando all' accidia di morso.
 Diretro a tutti dicean : Prima fue

^k *E posto Gg.*

(Villani viii. 48), having previously made his bastard son Joseph Abbot of St. Zeno. This man is said to have been lame and an evil-liver. As Philalethes points out, his tenure of the office would thus have coincided in part with Dante's sojourn at Verona. See also Foscolo, *Discorso sul Testò*, § lxxxvi.

¹³² **dando di morso.** Most commentators understand this to mean 'blaming,' 'reproaching'; 'mordendo o trafiggendo.'—Bianchi. I think, however, we must take it as parallel with xiv. 143. P. di Dante seems again to be right in explaining 'pro freno debet esse . . . a vitio tali retinendo nos ipsos,' though, in the case of this particular vice, the metaphor is rather bold.

folk to whom the sea opened itself were dead before Jordan beheld his inheritors. And that people, who suffered not the toil to the full end with the son of Anchises, offered themselves to life inglorious.' Then when those shades were so separated from us that they could no more be seen, a new thought formed itself within me, of which more were born other and divers, and so I went idly from one to another, that I closed my eyes for wandering, and changed my musing into dream.

Morta la gente, a cui il mar s' aperse,
 Che vedesse Giordan le rede sue.
 E quella, che l' affanno non sofferse
 Fino alla fine col figliuol d' Anchise,
 Sè stessa a vita senza gloria offerse.
 Poi quando fur da noi tanto divise
 Quell' ombre, che veder più non potersi, 140
 Nuovo pensier dentro da me si mise,
 Del qual più altri nacquero e diversi:¹
 E tanto d' uno in altro vaneggiai,
 Che gli occhi per vaghezza ricopersi,
 E il pensamento in sogno trasmutai.

¹ *Da quel Gg.*

¹³⁶ See Aeneid v. 713-718, 750 sqq. Dante alludes to the same in Conv. iv. 26.

¹⁴⁴ The modern commentators seem all to understand **vaghezza** in the usual sense of 'pleasure'; but Landino's explanation: 'cioè, per quel discorso vagabondo,' appears to suit the passage better, as following up the idea of **vaneggiai**. For *vago*, in the sense of Lat. *vagus*, see xix. 22, and xxxii. 135.

CANTO XIX

ARGUMENT

Dante has a dream of a Siren. Third sunrise. They mount up to the fifth circle, where they find the souls lying prostrate, purging themselves of the sins of avarice and prodigality. Dante talks with Pope Adrian the Fifth.

IN the hour when the heat of day can no more warm the cold of the Moon, being overcome by Earth, or at times by Saturn; when the geomants see their Greater Fortune, in the east before the dawn, rise by a way that stays little

NELL' ora che non può il calor diurno
Intiepidar più il freddo della Luna,
Vinto da Terra, o talor da Saturno :
Quando i geomanti lor Maggior Fortuna
Veggiono in oriente innanzi all' alba

¹ **nell' ora**; the regular phrase with which these dreams are introduced. See ix. 13, xxvii. 94.

² In Conv. ii. 14 he speaks of the 'freddura di Saturno.'

³ The Geomants obtained their results from certain arbitrary arrangements of dots on the ground, one of which in this form : : ∴ was known as the Greater Fortune. This shape can be obtained from some of the stars on the confines of Pisces and Aquarius, which would be rising just before daybreak. (The view of Philalethes that it is to be found in the Dolphin will not do, as at the beginning of April that constellation rises soon after midnight.)

while dusk for it; came to me in a dream a woman stammering, with her eyes squinting, and crooked upon her feet, with her hands deformed, and pallid of hue. I began to gaze at her; and as the Sun strengthens the cold limbs which the night weighs down, so my look made her tongue clear, and afterwards set her wholly upright in a little space, and so coloured her marred countenance as love will have it. After that she had her speech thus set free, she began to sing so that with pain should I have turned away from her my attention. 'I am,' she sang, 'I am a sweet Siren, who unman the mariners in mid-sea; so

Surger per via che poco le sta bruna ;
 Mi venne in sogno una femmina balba,
 Con gli occhi guerci, e sovra i piè distorta,
 Con le man monche, e di colore scialba.
 Io la mirava : e come il Sol conforta 10
 Le fredde membra che la notte aggrava,
 Così lo sguardo mio le facea scorta
 La lingua, e poscia tutta la drizzava
 In poco d' ora, e lo smarrito volto,
 Come amor vuol, così le colorava.
 Poi ch' ell' avea il parlar così disciolto,
 Cominciava a cantar sì, che con pena
 Da lei avrei mio intento rivolto.
 Io son, cantava, io son dolce Sirena,
 Che i marinari in mezzo il mar dismago. 20

⁷ This woman is almost universally understood to denote the pleasures of the flesh. In Appendix A, however, I have given reasons for thinking that the allegory of the three dreams is more distinctly connected.

^{14, 15} Cf. Par. L. viii. 619: Celestial rosy red, love's proper hue.

am I full of pleasure to hear. I turned Ulysses from his road, wandering to my song ; and he who makes his home with me rarely departs, so wholly I give him peace.' Her mouth was not yet closed, when a dame appeared, holy and ready, close beside me to put that one to confusion. 'O Virgil, Virgil, who is this?' proudly she began to say ; and he came, with his eyes fixed only on that honest one. He seized the other, and opened her before, cleaving her

Tanto son di piacere a sentir piena.
 Io volsi Ulisse del suo cammin vago ^a
 Al canto mio : e qual meco s' ausa ^b
 Rado sen parte, sì tutto l' appago.
 Ancor non era sua bocca richiusa,
 Quando una donna apparve santa e presta
 Lughesso me, per far colei confusa.
 O Virgilio, Virgilio, chi è questa ?
 Fieramente dicea : ed ei veniva
 Con gli occhi fitti pure in quella onesta. 30
 L' altra prendeva, e dinanzi l' apriva

^a *Io trassi Ald.*

^b *Col canto W.*

²² Benvenuto, Bianchi, and Philalethes take **vago** in its original and less usual sense of 'vagus'; but regard it as agreeing with **cammin**. The objection to this is that it weakens the point ; and besides, at the particular time Ulysses was going with a definite aim. **volsi** appears to have better authority than *trassi*. The principal objection to it is that the Sirens did not turn Ulysses out of his road ; but this does not seem of much importance. Either we may suppose her to be lying, or Dante may have got the story incorrectly, or, as Benv. suggests, may have confused it with that of Circe. Possibly the right reading is *torsi*.

²⁹ **dicea**. The Ottimo and, what is more curious, Benvenuto take this as first person, as though Dante were summoning Virgil. It is quite clear that he is entirely passive in his dreams ; and besides, **fieramente** would be out of place as applied to him.

³¹ Some take this as the action of the **donna onesta** ; but it seems better to suppose that she only calls Virgil to help. If, as I believe,

draperies, and showed me her belly: that awoke me with the stench that issued therefrom. I turned my eyes, and the good Virgil said: 'At least three calls have I given thee; rise and come. Let us find the gateway by which thou mayest enter.' I lifted myself up, and wholly with the high day were already filled the circles of the sacred mount, and we were going with the new Sun on our reins. Following him I was bearing my brow as one who has

Fendendo i drappi, e mostravami il ventre:^c
 Quel mi svegliò col puzzo che n' usciva.
 Io volsi gli occhi; e il buon Virgilio: Almen tre^d
 Voci t' ho messe, dicea, surgi e vieni:^e
 Troviam la porta, per la qual tu entre.^f
 Su mi levai: e tutti eran già pieni
 Dell' alto dì i giron del sacro monte,
 Ed andavam col Sol nuovo alle reni.
 Seguendo lui, portava la mia fronte

40

^c *mostrandomi Cass. 3 W.*

^d *buon maestro Gg.; al buon m. e mentre Cass. Benv. 1245. Virg. e mentre 3; Io mossi W.*

^e *messe e Gg.; Voci come se dicessi 145; dicesse 3; comesse dicea 2.*

^f *l' aperto Ald. Land.; l' aperta W.*

she is the *donna gentil* of Inf. ii. 94, this would be in keeping with her procedure there.

^{34, 35} The earlier editions have made a wonderful confusion of these lines. Benvenuto's gloss is worth giving, as showing how much he was puzzled, and the ingenuity with which he makes the best of a bad job: '*Io volsi gli occhi al buon maestro; ac si diceret: quid restat agendum? e mentre, idest, interim cum volverem oculos, voce, scilicet Virgilii, venit ad me, come dicesse,*' etc. Even Aldus reads *al mentre*; but the first five clearly have not the least idea of the sense. 1345, for instance, read *come se* for *t' ho messe*. See Moore, Text. Crit. For the curious rhythm *almen tre*, cf. *per li* in xx. 4.

³⁹ Observe that they have now passed the north side of the mountain, and are going rather south of west.

it laden with thought, who makes of himself a bridge's half arch, when I heard: 'Come, here is the passage,' spoken in fashion sweet and benign, such as is not heard in this mortal march. With his wings open, which appeared a swan's, he who thus spoke to us turned us upward, between the two walls of the hard flint. He moved his feathers then, and fanned us, affirming that blessed are *Qui lugent*, for they shall have their souls lords of consolation. 'What

Come colui che l' ha di pensier carca,
 Che fa di sè un mezzo arco di ponte ;
 Quando io udi' : Venite, qui si varca ;
 Parlare in modo soave e benigno,
 Qual non si sente in questa mortal marca.
 . Con l' ali aperte che parean di cigno,
 Volseci in su colui che sì parlonne,
 Tra i due pareti del duro macigno.
 Mosse le penne poi e ventilonne,
Qui lugent affermando esser beati, 50
 Ch' avran di consolar l' anime donne.^g

^g *conseglar Gg.*

⁵⁰ It is not easy, as Philalethes points out, to detect at first sight the special applicability here of this Beatitude. His explanation is that those who mourn are those who, being most convinced of their incompleteness, strive most to improve ; which is just the point wherein the 'accidiosi' fail.

⁵¹ *donne* is the reading of nearly every edition. Buti has *done* (= *donate*), which does not rhyme. Blanc seems to find a difficulty in the use of the word, but agrees, *faute de mieux*, with the usual interpretation, which, from the expressions used in his Dict., he seems to think he was the first to suggest. It occurs in the same sense in the Canzone: 'Amor tu vedi ben,' l. 6: 'D' ogni crudelità si fece donna.' Cf. the Span. . 'Ser dueño de alguna cosa.' Vellutello's explanation, which makes *anime* the object to *consolar*, and takes *donne* = *gentili*, is, like others of his, too absurd to be seriously discussed.

ails thee that thou lookest only toward the earth?' my Guide began to say to me, when we had both mounted up a little way from the Angel. And I: 'With so great suspicion a new vision makes me to go, which so bends me to itself that I cannot part myself from thinking of it.' 'Hast thou seen,' said he, 'that ancient witch, who alone above us from this point laments? Hast thou seen how the man looses himself from her? Suffice it thee, and beat on earth thy heels, turn back thine eyes to the lure, which the Eternal King is whirling with the mighty wheels.' Like the falcon which first gazes at his feet, then turns at the cry,

Che hai, che pure in ver la terra guati?
 La Guida mia incominciò a dirmi,
 Poco amendue dall' Angel sormontati.
 Ed io: Con tanta suspizion fairmi
 Novella vision ch' a sè mi piega,
 Sì ch' io non posso dal pensar partirmi.
 Vedesti, disse, quella antica strega,
 Che sola sovra noi omai si piagne?
 Vedesti come l' uom da lei si slega?
 Bastiti, e batti a terra le calcagne:
 Gli occhi rivolgi al logoro, che gira
 Lo rege eterno con le rote magne.
 Quale il falcon che prima ai piè si mira,
 Indi si volge al grido, e si protende,

60

⁵⁹ So xvii. 137. 'Corpus otii tabe confectum concupiscentiarum carnalium pascit ac nutrit insaniam.'—Lorenzo Giustiniani, quoted by Perez.

⁶⁰ Cf. xv. 119.

⁶¹ **logoro**: see Gloss. Inf. Here it seems to denote merely the heavens. The use of the word evidently suggested the simile of the falcon in ll. 64-66. Dante is fond of drawing his illustrations from this sport. See for example Inf. xvii. 127; and Philaethes here.

⁶² **rote magne**. Cf. xxx. 109.

and stretches himself forth, for the desire of the food which draws him there, such made I myself, and such, as far as the rock is split to give way to whoso goes up, I went even to the point where the circling is taken up.

When I was set free in the fifth circle, I saw folk throughout it which were weeping, lying on the earth all turned downwards. '*Adhaesit pavimento anima mea*,' I heard from them, with sighs so deep that the word was hardly understood. 'O elect of God, whose sufferings both hope and justice make less hard, direct us to the ascents on high.' 'If ye come secure from the lying down, and wish to find the way most quickly, let your right hands be ever on the outside.' Thus prayed the Poet, and

Per lo disio del pasto che là il tira ;
 Tal mi fec' io : e tal, quanto si fende
 La roccia per dar via a chi va suso,
 N' andai infino ove il cerchiar si prende.
 Com' io nel quinto giro fui dischiuso, 70
 Vidi gente per esso che piangea,
 Giacendo a terra tutta volta in giuso.
Adhaesit pavimento anima mea,
 Sentia di lor con sì alti sospiri,
 Che la parola appena s' intendea.
 O eletti di Dio, gli cui soffrir
 E giustizia e speranza fan men duri,
 Drizzate noi verso gli alti saliri.
 Se voi venite dal giacer sicuri,
 E volete trovar la via più tosto, 80
 Le vostre destre sien sempre di furi.
 Così pregò il Poeta, e sì risposto

⁷¹ The avaricious.

thus was answer made us a little in advance of us ; wherefore I gave heed in their speaking to the other who was hidden ; and turned my eyes then to my Master, whence he gave me assent, with glad gesture, to that which my face of desire besought. When I had power to do with myself according to my thought, I drew me over that creature, whose words erewhile caused me to remark, saying : ' Spirit in whom tears are ripening that without which man cannot turn to God, stay a little for me thy greater care. Tell me

Poco dinanzi a noi ne fu ; perch' io
 Nel parlare avvisai l' altro nascosto ;
 E volsi gli occhi allora al Signor mio : ^h
 Ond' egli m' assenti con lieto cenno
 Ciò che chiedea la vista del disio.
 Poi ch' io potei di me fare a mio senno,
 Trassimi sopra quella creatura,
 Le cui parole pria notar mi fenno ; 90
 Dicendo : Spirto, in cui pianger matura
 Quel, senza il quale a Dio tornar non puossi,
 Sosta un poco per me tua maggior cura.

^h *agli occhi al Gg. Cass. 1345 Ald. Land. ; del 2.*

⁸⁴ There has been some discussion over the meaning of this line. Philalethes has : ' Ich, aus solcher Rede, was sonst darin war noch verborgen, merkte,' and explains it to be the doubt whether they were living men, and the wish to have their prayers. This is given also by Bianchi ; but rightly, as I think, set aside by him as 'vuota di concetto' ; and certainly any such meaning is very much hidden in the simple direction which the spirit gives. It seems much simpler to take *avvisai* as in (e.g.) x. 71, and l' *altro* as merely = 'the other interlocutor,' opposed to *il Poeta*.

⁸⁵ The reading *agli occhi* is open to the objection that Dante never looks Virgil *in the eyes*.

who thou wast, and why ye have your backs turned upward, and if thou wilt that I obtain aught for thee there whence I have moved yet living.' And he to me: 'Wherefore the heaven turns our back parts to it, thou shalt know, but first *Scias quod ego fui successor Petri*. Between Siestri and Chiavari flows down a fair large river, and from its name the title of my race makes its boast. One month and little more I proved how the great mantle weighs on

Chi fosti, e perchè volti avete i dossi
 Al su mi di', e se vuoi ch' io t' impetri
 Cosa di là ond' io vivendo mossi.
 Ed egli a me: Perchè i nostri diretri
 Rivolga il cielo a sè, saprai: ma prima
*Scias quod ego fui successor Petri.*ⁱ
 Intra Siestri e Chiaveri s' adima 100
 Una fiumana bella, e del suo nome
 Lo titol del mio sangue fa sua cima.
 Un mese e poco più prova' io come
 Pesa il gran manto a chi dal fango il guarda:

ⁱ *quot ego sum fui succ.* 145.

⁹⁹ 'Know that I was a successor of Peter.' This is Pope Adrian V., formerly Cardinal Ottobuono da' Fieschi of Genoa. He became Pope on July 12, 1276, and held the office thirty-nine days.—Villani vii. 50. He is interesting to Englishmen as having, in the capacity of papal legate, taken a share in the restoration of peace after the Barons' War, and preached the crusade of 1270 in this country. He must be distinguished from his namesake and kinsman, who, as Pope Innocent IV., reigned from 1243 to 1254, and excommunicated Frederick II.

¹⁰¹ The Lavagna, from which the Fieschi took the title of Counts. The railway from Genoa to Spezia crosses it just beyond Chiavari.

¹⁰² Blanc, with most commentators, takes *cima* as 'origin.' Both Bianchi and Philalethes, however, prefer the interpretation which I have followed, and which agrees with the Tuscan use of *cima*, as given by Fanfani: 'il più alto grado di alcuna cosa.'

¹⁰⁴ *il gran manto*; so Inf. xix. 69.

him who guards it from the mire, that all other burthens seem feathers. My conversion, ah me! was late; but when I became Roman pastor, thus I discovered that life was false. I saw that there the heart quieted not itself, nor could one mount any higher in that life; wherefore of this a love was kindled in me. Up to that point, I was a soul wretched and separated from God, wholly avaricious; now, as thou seest, here I am punished for it. What avarice does is here displayed in the purging of the converted souls, and the mount has no more bitter penalty. Just as our eye did

Che piuma sembran tutte l' altre some.
 La mia conversione oimè! fu tarda;
 Ma come fatto fui Roman Pastore,
 Così scopersi la vita bugiarda.
 Vidi che lì non si quetava il cuore,^k
 Nè più salir poteasi in quella vita;
 110 Perchè di questa in me s' accese amore.
 Fino a quel punto misera e partita
 Da Dio anima fui, del tutto avara:
 Or, come vedi, qui ne son punita.
 Quel ch' avarizia fa, qui si dichiara,
 In purgazion dell' anime converse:
 E nulla pena il monte ha più amara.

^k *non posava Gg.*

¹¹⁴ The feminine **punita** agrees of course with **anima**, though a man is speaking.

¹¹⁷ This line is worthy of attention, as showing that there is not, as is sometimes said, any regular gradation of penalties in Purgatory, like that of the torments in Hell. Also, as Philaethes points out, the discipline is sometimes imitative of the sin, as here and in the third and seventh circles; sometimes, as in the cases of pride, gluttony, and sloth, opposed to it.

not erect itself on high, being fixed to earthly things, so justice here has sunk it to earth. As avarice extinguished our love toward every good, whence labour was lost, so justice here holds us straitly bound and prisoners in feet and hands; and as long as it shall be the pleasure of the righteous Lord, so long shall we stay immovable and outstretched.' I had knelt down, and was in mind to speak; but when I began, and he was aware, only by hearing, of my reverence: 'What occasion,' said he, 'has so bent thee down?' And I to him: 'For your dignity my conscience while I stood up pricked me.' 'Make straight thy legs, and

Sì come l' occhio nostro non s' aderse
 In alto, fisso alle cose terrene,
 Così giustizia qui a terra il merse. 120
 Come avarizia spense a ciascun bene
 Lo nostro amore, onde operar perdèsi,
 Così giustizia qui stretti ne tiene
 Nei piedi e nelle man legati e presi;
 E quanto fia piacer del giusto Sire,
 Tanto staremo immobili e distesi.
 Io m' era inginocchiato, e volea dire:
 Ma com' io cominciai, ed ei s' accorse,
 Solo ascoltando, del mio riverire,
 Qual çagion, disse, in giù così ti torse? 130
 Ed io a lui: Per vostra dignitate,
 Mia coscienza dritto mi rimorse.¹

¹ *dritta* Gg. 23 Ald. Land. ; *dentro* 14.

¹³² **dritto mi.** The construction is unusual, but on the whole this seems to be the best rendering. Benv., reading *dritta* 'rightly,' considers that Dante's conscience pricked him for having addressed a Pope with *tu*.

rise up, brother,' he answered; 'err not. I am a fellow-servant with thee and with the others unto one power. If thou hast ever understood that holy note of the Gospel which says *Negue nubent*, well mayest thou see why I speak thus. Now go thy way; I will not that thou stay more, for thy stay disturbs my weeping, wherewith I ripen that which thou hast said. A niece have I yonder, who has to name Alagia, good of herself, so only that our house make her not by example wicked; and she alone on that side remains to me.'

Drizza le gambe, e levati su, frate,
 Rispose; non errar; conservo sono
 Teco e con gli altri ad una potestate.
 Se mai quel santo Evangelico suono,
 Che dice *Negue nubent*, intendesti,^m
 Ben puoi veder perch' io così ragiono.
 Vattene omai: non vo' che più t' arresti:
 Che la tua stanza mio pianger disagia, 140
 Col qual maturo ciò che tu dicesti.
 Nipote ho io di là, ch' ha nome Alagia;
 Buona da sè, pur che la nostra casa
 Non faccia lei per esempio malvagia;
 E questa sola m' è di là rimasa.

^m *Nunquam n. Gg.*

^{134, 135} Imitated from Rev. xix. 10, and xxii. 9.

¹³⁷ St. Matt. xxii. 30. The meaning here is that earthly distinctions of whatever kind are done away with in the next life.

¹³⁹ **vattene omai.** Cf. xiv. 124.

¹⁴¹ Cf. l. 91.

¹⁴² This Alagia is said to have been married to Moroello Malaspina.

¹⁴⁵ Not that he had no other relations, but she was the only one whose prayers would avail him.

CANTO XX

ARGUMENT

As they go forward they hear a voice proclaiming instances of liberality. This is that of Hugh Capet, who speaks of the evils wrought through avarice by the house of France ; and tells how at night the spirits cry out against famous examples of this vice. Of a sudden, the whole mountain shakes, and all the spirits glorify God.

AGAINST a better will, a will fights badly ; wherefore against my own pleasure, to please him, I drew from the water the sponge unfilled. I moved myself, and my Leader himself by the unencumbered places, ever along the rock, as one goes along a wall close to the battlements ; for the folk who are pouring drop by drop through their eyes the

CONTRA miglior voler, voler mal pugna ;
Onde contra il piacer mio, per piacerli,^a
Trassi dell' acqua non sazia la spugna.^b
Mossimi, e il Duca mio si mosse per li
Luoghi spediti pur lungo la roccia,
Come si va per muro stretto a' merli :
Chè la gente che fonde a goccia a goccia

^a *voler mio Gg.*

^b *la pugna Cass.*

³ I.e. though he wished to ask more, he went on because he was bidden to do so.

evil which possesses all the world, in the other direction approach too near the outer side. Accursed be thou, ancient she-wolf, that more than all the other beasts hast prey, through thy hunger endlessly deep! O stars, in whose turning it seems men believe that the conditions of this lower world are transmuted, when will he come through whom she will depart?

We were going with our steps slow and few, and I intent

Per gli occhi il mal che tutto il mondo occupa,
 Dall' altra parte in fuor troppo s' approccia.
 Maledetta sie tu, antica lupa, 10
 Che più che tutte l' altre bestie hai preda,
 Per la tua fame senza fine cupa.
 O ciel, nel cui girar par che si creda
 Le condizion di quaggiù trasmutarsi,
 Quando verrà per cui questa disceda?
 Noi andavam coi passi lenti e scarsi;

¹⁰ **lupa.** The wolf in the D.C. denotes (1) the sin of avarice; (2) the Guelf party; (3) as connected with these, the Papal power and 'clericalism' generally. See a satire of the thirteenth century, quoted by Oliphant, *History of Frederick II.*, vol. ii. p. 345: 'Pecunia, Empress of the Romans and of all the earth, to all, her beloved sons, greeting. . . . To me fly all kings and nations; the Roman Court serves me. Here will I dwell to the end of time; the Roman Court have I chosen out. . . . The Church never closes her breast against me; the Pope willingly opens his arms to me.' Notice that the first soul whom Dante meets in this circle is a Pope, and cf. *Inf.* vii. 46-48. Also notice that Plutus, who is on guard over the avaricious in hell, is called by Virgil, 'Maledetto lupo.' How far the Guelf party, as a whole, can be connected otherwise than through their name with the sin which the wolf denotes, it is impossible to say; but it may be remarked that the trading classes for the most part held to it. That there is a secondary reference to it here, and in *Inf.* i., is clear from a comparison of the next three lines, 13-15, with *Inf.* i. 101 sqq.

¹³ **ciel**, as in xvi. 67, etc.

upon the shades which I heard piteously weep and bewail themselves, and by adventure I heard one cry 'Sweet Mary,' in front of us, in its wail just as a woman does who is in travail, and continue: 'So poor wast thou, as one may see by that hostelry where thou laidest down thy sacred burthen.' Following this I heard: 'O good Fabricius, thou wouldest rather virtue with poverty than to possess great riches with crime.' These words were so pleasing to me, that I drew myself further to have acquaintance of

Ed io attento all' ombre ch' i' sentia
 Pietosamente piangere e lagnarsi ;
 E per ventura udi': Dolce Maria,
 Dinanzi a noi chiamar così nel pianto, 20
 Come fa donna, che in partorir sia ;
 E seguitar : Povera fosti tanto,
 Quanto veder si può per quell' ospizio,
 Ove sponesti il tuo portato santo.
 Seguentemente intesi : O buon Fabbrizio,
 Con povertà volesti anzi virtute,
 Che gran ricchezza posseder con vizio.
 Queste parole m' eran sì piaciute,
 Ch' io mi trassi oltre per aver contezza

²⁵ Cf. Conv. iv. 5: 'Chi dirà che fosse senza divina spirazione, Fabrizio infinita quasi multitude d'oro rifiutare, per non volere abbandonare sua patria?' He is also commemorated in De Mon. ii. 5. The story is told in Val. Max. iv. 3, § 6, where he is called 'honoribus et auctoritate omni cive temporibus suis major, censu par unicuique pauperrimo.'

²⁸ **piaciute.** With this transitive use of *piacere* cf. Inf. xxvii. 84. Boccaccio Dec. x. 2: 'conceduto glielo il Papa,' is a still more curious use of a passive participle.

that spirit from whom they seemed to have come. It was yet speaking of the largess which Nicholas made to the maidens, to bring their youth to honour. 'O soul, that talkest so well, tell me who thou wast,' I said, 'and wherefore thou alone renewest these worthy praises? Thy speech shall not be without reward, if I return to fulfil the short journey of that life which flies to its end.' And he: 'I will tell thee, not for any help which I may expect from thence, but because so great grace shines in thee ere thou art dead. I was root of the ill plant, which overshadows

Di quello spirto, onde parean venute. 30
 Esso parlava ancor della larghezza,
 Che fece Niccolao alle pulcelle,
 Per condurre ad onor lor giovinezza.
 O anima, che tanto ben favelle,
 Dimmi chi fosti, dissi, e perchè sola
 Tu queste degne lode rinnovelle?
 Non fia senza mercè la tua parola,
 S' io ritorno a compier lo cammin corto^c
 Di quella vita ch' al termine vola.
 Ed egli: Io ti dirò, non per conforto 40
 Ch' io attenda di là, ma perchè tanta
 Grazia in te luce prima che sii morto.^d
 Io fui radice della mala pianta,

^c *se mai torno Cass.*

^d *anzi che s. Gg.*

³¹ St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, dowered three girls, who would otherwise have been brought up to an immoral life.

⁴³ Dante has probably fallen into two confusions in this well-known passage. The speaker calls himself Hugh Capet, but implies in l. 59 that he himself was never crowned, and also calls himself son of a butcher, according to the legend to which Villon refers: 'Hue Capet, qui fut estraict de boucherie.' Now in the version given by Villani (iv. 4), who has the same story of the origin of the family, it was Hugh the Great who was 'stratto di nazione di buccieri'; and having married

all Christendom in such wise that good fruit is rarely plucked from it. But if Douai, Ghent, Lille, and Bruges had the power, soon would there be vengeance taken on it, and I ask it of Him who judges all. I was called there Hugh Capet; of me are born the Philips and the Lewises, by whom of late France has been ruled. Son was I of a butcher of Paris. When the ancient kings came to an end,

Che la terra cristiana tutte aduggia
 Sì che buon frutto rado se ne schianta.
 Ma se Doagio, Guanto, Lilla, e Bruggia
 Potesser, tosto ne saria vendetta :
 Ed io la cheggio a lui che tutto giuggia.
 Chiamato fui di là Ugo Ciapetta :
 Di me son nati i Filippi e i Luigi, 50
 Per cui novellamente è Francia retta.
 Figliuol fui d' un beccaio di Parigi.
 Quando li Regi antichi venner meno

the widow of the Duke of Orleans (*sic*), became duke himself. (Benv. thinks that Dante learnt the facts about Hugh's parentage 'when he was at Paris for purposes of study.') Thus Dante has apparently mixed up the father and the son, just as in l. 54 the allusion to Childeric III., the last of the Merwings, can hardly be doubted. None of the later Karlings is known to have turned monk—(and this is the only explanation at all satisfactory of 'renduto in panni bigi')—whereas Childeric, as Villani (ii. 12) knew, did become a monk under compulsion from Pippin. Moreover, 'li antichi regi' is more applicable to the Merwings, whose origin was lost in a fabulous antiquity, than to the more recent Karlings. It must be remembered that Hugh Capet had been dead three hundred years, and that trustworthy histories did not exist. Even Villani, professed historian as he is, is often quite at sea as to events which happened before his own time.

⁴⁶ In allusion to the treatment of Flanders and its count by Philip the Fair. The revenge came in 1301, when a massacre of the French took place, which was followed by the battle at Courtrai, called the Battle of the Spurs, March 21, 1302.—Villani viii. 55, 56.

all save one who had betaken himself to gray garments, I found so fast within my hands the rein of the government of the kingdom, and such power of new acquirement, and so full of friends, that to the widowed crown was the head of my son promoted, from which began of these the consecrated bones. So long as the great dowry of Provence took not shame away from my race, it had little worth, but still it did not evil. There began with violence and with falsehood its rapine; and afterward, for amends, it took Ponthieu

Tutti, fuor ch' un renduto in panni bigi,
 Trovai mi stretto nelle mani il freno
 Del governo del regno, e tanta possa
 Di nuovo acquisto, e sì d' amici pieno,
 Ch' alla corona vedova promossa
 La testa di mio figlio fu, dal quale
 Cominciar di costor le sacrate ossa. 60
 Mentre che la gran dote Provenzale
 Al sangue mio non tolse la vergogna,
 Poco valea, ma pur non facea male.
 Lì cominciò con forza e con menzogna
 La sua rapina: e poscia per ammenda

⁵⁷ The construction of *sì d' amici pieno* is rather harsh. It must be explained by supposing that *trovai mi* is to be repeated in the sense of 'I found myself'; *mi* being *me*, not *mihi* as in l. 55.

⁶⁰ Lombardi and others take *sacrate* as 'accursed,' which seems weak.

⁶¹ In allusion to the marriages of Louis IX. and Charles of Anjou with Blanche and Beatrice, daughters of Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence. Between them they brought the county to the crown of France; and it is said to have been owing to the wish of his wife to be a queen, as well as her sisters, that Charles accepted the crown of Apulia, and became the champion of the Pope against the House of Swabia. —Villani vi. 89. It must be remembered that Dante is only concerned with foreign powers as they affect Italy.

and Normandy and Gascony. Charles came into Italy, and for amends made a victim of Conradin; and then hurried Thomas back to Heaven, for amends. I see a time

Ponti e Normandia prese, e Guascogna.
 Carlo venne in Italia, e per ammenda
 Vittima fe di Curradino; e poi
 Ripinse al Ciel Tommaso, per ammenda.
 Tempo vegg' io non molto dopo ancoi, 70

⁶⁶ There is some confusion of chronology in these lines, for no attempt to take Ponthieu from the English crown seems to have been made till 1324 (Henry of Blanford, Chronicle, ad fin.), and it was in English hands for some years later, while Normandy was lost in the reign of John, 1203 (Villani iv. 4), and thus long before the 'dote Provenzale' existed. It may be said, however, that the claim of the English king on Normandy was not renounced till early in the reign of Philip the Fair. The attempt on Gascony, to which Dante specially refers, is probably that of Philip, in 1294 (Villani viii. 4); but there was also an inroad fifty years before in that direction, when the English were defeated at Saintes, by Louis IX., which ultimately led to the acquisition of Poitou. Is it possible that *Paitò* and not *Pontì* is the right reading? See Cary's note to this passage. Villani, however (xii. 63), in narrating Edward III.'s first invasion of France, makes him lay claim to '*Pontì*,' '*Normandia*,' and '*Guascogna*.' As to Dante's opinion of St. Louis, see note to vii. 128.

⁶⁷⁻⁶⁹ Charles of Anjou came into Italy in 1265, at the invitation of the Popes Urban IV. and Clement IV., to take the crowns of Apulia and Sicily, and overthrow the house of Swabia. He defeated and slew Manfred at Benevento, in February 1265, and his nephew, Conradin, at Tagliacozzo in August, 1268. (See Villani vi. 87, and the first part of book vii. It should be noticed that Villani gives a very different picture of Charles from that usually accepted. See also note to Canto vii. 113.) The story that St. Thomas Aquinas was poisoned by his order seems to rest on no evidence beyond the merest suspicion. The only certain fact is that Aquinas died at Fossa Nova in Campania in 1274, on his way to the Council of Lyons. A knight according to the Ottimo, a physician according to Villani (ix. 218), gave him poison, 'thinking to please the king,' to whom he was supposed to be obnoxious—probably on political grounds.

not long after this day, which draws a second Charles forth from France, to make him and his better known. Without arms he goes forth thence, and only with the lance wherewith Judas jousted; and that he pushes so that he makes the paunch of Florence to burst. Therefrom not land, but sin and shame will he gain, for himself so much the more grievous as he counts light the like harm. The other who has already gone out a prisoner from shipboard, I see sell

Che tragge un altro Carlo fuor di Francia,
 Per far conoscer meglio e sè e i suoi.
 Senz' arme n' esce, e solo con la lancia,^e
 Con la qual giostrò Giuda; e quella ponta
 Sì ch' a' Fiorenza fa scoppiar la pancia.
 Quindi non terra, ma peccato ed onta
 Guadagnerà, per sè tanto più grave,
 Quanto più lieve simil danno conta.
 L' altro, che già uscì preso di nave,

^e esce solo e 3 *W.*

⁷¹ **un altro Carlo.** Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair, called in Italy 'Carlo senza Terra' (cf. l. 76), was summoned by Boniface VIII. in the year 1300, says Villani (viii. 43): 'per doppio intendimento: principalmente per aiuto del re Carlo (II. of Apulia) per la guerra di Cicilia; . . . e oltre a questo gli diè titolo di paciario in Toscana, per recare colla sua forza la città di Firenze al suo intendimento.' He entered Florence on All Saints' Day of the following year, and took the side of the Black party, after promising to pacify the factions. In the next April the Whites were driven out: 'onde alla nostra città di Firenze seguirono molte rovine e pericoli,' admits the Gueff historian. He passed on to Sicily, made peace, unknown to Charles II., with Don Frederick, and returned to France in the following November, 'scemata e consumata sua gente e con poco onore.'

⁷⁹ **l' altro.** Charles II. of Apulia was defeated off Naples by Roger di Loria, June 5, 1284, shortly before his father's death. His life was only spared at the request of the Queen of Aragon, Constance,

his daughter, and bargain over her, as do the corsairs with the other slaves. O avarice, what canst thou do more with us, since thou hast so drawn my race to thee that it cares not for its own flesh! In order that the future evil and the past may appear less, I see the fleur-de-lys enter into Alagna, and in his Vicar Christ himself made captive. I see Him being mocked a second time, I see the vinegar and the gall renewed, and Him between live thieves put to

Veggio vender sua figlia, e patteggiarne, 80
Come fan li corsar dell' altre schiave.

O avarizia, che puoi tu più farne,
Poi ch' hai il sangue mio a te sì tratto,
Che non si cura della propria carne?
Perchè men paia il mal futuro e il fatto
Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
E nel vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
Veggiolo un' altra volta esser deriso :
Veggio rinnovellar l' aceto e il fele,
E tra vivi ladroni essere anciso.^f 90

^f *nuovi 3 and some modern edd.*

daughter of Manfred, and he was detained in Aragon till November, 1288.—Vill. vii. 93, 125, etc. His daughter was married to Azzo III. da Este of Ferrara, in 1305, according to Philaethes. Villani mentions the marriage, but says nothing of the alleged money transaction.

⁸⁶ In September, 1303, Sciarra Colonna and William de Nogaret (minister of Philip the Fair) seized and imprisoned Boniface VIII. at Anagni. He was treated with every sort of indignity, and died in a few days after his release, on October 12.—Villani viii. 63, 64, where Dante's expressions are curiously paralleled.

⁸⁹ Of course **aceto** and **fele** are strictly the object of **rinnovellar**.

⁹⁰ **vivi**: i.e. not, as the originals were, crucified with Him. No doubt Colonna and Nogaret are meant, though the Ottimo oddly takes **ladroni** to mean the cardinals: 'perocchè rubano tutto il mondo.'

death. I see the new Pilate so cruel that that sates him not, but without decree he bears into the temple his greedy sails. O my Lord, when shall I rejoice to see thy vengeance, which makes sweet thy wrath, hidden in thy secret place? That which I was saying of that only spouse of the Holy Spirit, and which made thee turn toward me for some gloss, is ordered for all our prayers, so long as the day lasts, but when it grows night, we take instead thereof a

Veggio il nuovo Pilato sì crudele,
 Che ciò nol sazia, ma senza decreto
 Porta nel tempio le cupide vele.
 O Signor mio, quando sarò io lieto,
 A veder la vendetta, che nascosa
 Fa dolce l'ira tua nel tuo segreto?
 Ciò ch'io dicea di quell' unica sposa
 Dello Spirito Santo, e che ti fece
 Verso me volger per alcuna chiosa,
 Tant' è disposto a tutte nostre prece, 100
 Quanto il dì dura : ma quando s' annotta,^g

g da che 'l s' ann. Gg. ; come 'l Cass.

⁹¹⁻⁹³ Alluding to the destruction of the Templars by Philip the Fair in 1307 and the following years. It is not easy to see what Dante means by 'senza decreto,' as Philip was acting, at least ostensibly, with the Pope's authority. See Villani viii. 92. Probably Benvenuto's explanation, 'vult dicere injuste,' is all that is needed.

⁹⁶ Bianchi takes this to mean that the certainty of God's vengeance enables his anger to cool; or, as Blanc puts it, prevents it breaking out before the time. Philalethes prefers to interpret 'the justice of God, knowing that its vengeance is inevitable, is content to wait.' I am inclined for once to prefer Vellutello's explanation: 'Per esser dolce cosa a giusti veder punir gl' impii de le sceleraggini loro.' The allusion to Ps. lviii. 9 seems clear. With *nascosa* and *segreto* cf. *arcaneamente giusto* xxix. 120. Cf. also S. T. Suppl. Q. 94. A. 3: 'Hoc modo (sc. per accidens) sancti de poenis impiorum gaudebunt, considerando in eis divinae justitiae ordinem.'

⁹⁷ This is an answer to Dante's question in l. 35, referring to l. 19.

contrary sound. We recall Pygmalion then, whom his will, gluttonous of gold, made traitor and robber and parricide; and the misery of the avaricious Midas, which followed upon his greedy demand, for the which it ever behoves that men laugh. Of the foolish Achan each then bethinks himself, how he stole the spoils, so that the wrath of Joshua seems here still to bite him. Then we accuse Sapphira with her husband; we praise the kicks which Heliodorus had; and in infamy circles all the mount Polymnestor who slew Polydorus. Lastly, our cry is "Crassus, tell us; for thou knowest, of what savour is gold?"

Contrario suon prendemo in quella vece.
 Noi ripetiam Pigmalion allotta,
 Cui traditore e ladro e patricida
 Fece la voglia sua dell' oro ghiotta :
 E la miseria dell' avaro Mida,
 Che seguì alla sua dimanda ingorda,
 Per la qual sempre convien che si rida.
 Del folle Acàm ciascun poi si ricorda,
 Come furò le spoglie, sì che l' ira
 Di Giosuè qui par ch' ancor lo morda.
 Indi accusiam col marito Safira :
 Lodiamo i calci ch' ebbe Eliodoro,
 Ed in infamia tutto il monte gira
 Polinestor ch' ancise Polidoro :
 Ultimamente ci si grida : Crasso,
 Dicci, chè il sai, di che sapore è l' oro.

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¹⁰² **in quella vece** for '*in v. di quello*'; or perhaps 'for that turn,' xvi. 36.

¹⁰³ **Pigmalion**. Aen. i. 347. The other instances of avarice, or rather lust of wealth, are all familiar. The story of Heliodorus is in 2 Macc. iii.

Sometimes we talk one loud and another low, according to the affection which spurs us in speaking, now to a greater now to a lesser pace. Wherefore, in regard to the good which by day is talked of among us, I was not erewhile alone; but here no other person was raising his voice hard by.'

We were already parted from him, and were striving to overcome the way, so far as was permitted to our power, when I felt the mount totter as a thing which falls; wherefore a chill seized me, such as is wont to seize him who goes to death. Certes Delos was not so mightily shaken before that Latona made in it the nest to bring forth

Talor parliam l' un alto, e l' altro basso,
 Secondo l' affezion ch' a dir ci sprona
 Ora a maggior, ed ora a minor passo. 120
 Però al ben, che il dì ci si ragiona,
 Dianzi non er' io sol : ma qui da presso
 Non alzava la voce altra persona.
 Noi eravam partiti già da esso,
 E brigavam di soverchiar la strada
 Tanto, quanto al poter n' era permesso ;
 Quand' io senti', come cosa che cada,
 Tremar lo monte : onde mi prese un gielo,
 Qual prender suol colui ch' a morte vada.
 Certo non si scotea sì forte Delo, 130
 Pria che Latona in lei facesse il nido,

¹²² Answering the second question in l. 35.

¹²⁷⁻¹²⁹ **cada** and **vada**. For this use of the subj. cf. viii. 6, xviii. 78, etc. It is not, however, so purely imaginary a simile as the second of these.

¹³⁰ This seems simply to refer to the tossing that the island of Delos may be supposed to have undergone before the filial piety of Apollo fixed it.

the two eyes of the heaven. Then began from all parts a cry such that the Master turned him to me, saying: 'Doubt not, while I guide thee.' '*Gloria in excelsis Deo*,' all were saying, by what I understood from those near, from whence one might distinguish the cry. We rested motionless and in suspense, like the shepherds who first heard that chant, until the trembling ceased, and it was finished. Then we took again our sacred way, looking at the shades which lay upon the earth, returned already to their wonted plaint. No ignorance ever with such striving made me desirous to know, if my memory in that matter errs not,

A partorir li due occhi del cielo.
 Poi cominciò da tutte parti un grido
 Tal, che il Maestro inver di me si feo,
 Dicendo: Non dubbiar mentr' io ti guido.
Gloria in excelsis tutti *Deo*
 Dicean, per quel ch' io dai vicin compresi,
 Onde intender lo grido si poteo.
 Noi ci restammo immobili e sospesi,
 Come i pastor che prima udir quel canto, 140
 Fin che il tremar cessò, ed ei compièsi.^h
 Poi ripigliammo nostro cammin santo,
 Guardando l' ombre che giacean per terra,
 Tornate già in su l' usato pianto.
 Nulla ignoranza mai con tanta guerra
 Mi fe desideroso di sapere,
 Se la memoria mia in ciò non erra,

^h *io compresi Gg.; io 'l compr. Cass. 124.*

¹³⁷ It seems better to read *dai vicin*, as 'to hear close by,' which would be the meaning of *da vicin*, is not quite the same sense as 'to hear from those close by,' and it is the latter that Dante means. Post. Gg. has 'i.e. *spiritibus*.'

¹⁴³ *per terra. Cf. Fr. par terre.*

as that which I seemed then in my thought to have ;
neither, for our haste, did I dare to ask, nor of myself
could I see aught there. Thus I went my way timid and
full of thought.

Quanta pareami allor pensando avere :

Nè per la fretta dimandare er' oso,

Nè per me lì potea cosa vedere.

150

Così m' andava timido e pensoso.

CANTO XXI

ARGUMENT

They are overtaken by a spirit, who, having completed his purification, is on his way upwards. He explains the reason for which the mountain shook, and the manner in which the souls know that they are free to mount upwards. Being asked his name, he declares himself to be Statius the poet, and Dante reveals to him who Virgil is.

THE natural thirst which is never sated, if not with the water, the grace whereof the woman of Samaria asked, was working upon me, and haste was urging me along the

LA sete natural che mai non sazia,
Se non coll' acqua onde la femminetta
Sammaritana dimandò la grazia,
Mi travagliava, e pungeami la fretta ^a

^a *porgeami Gg.*

¹ N.B. **sazia** used intransitively. For the figure, cf. Conv. i. 1, where 'la natural sete' is used to denote the desire of knowledge. Here it is of course the desire to know the reason why the mountain quaked.

² **onde** exactly = Fr. *dont*. So xi. 112, xxxii. 102, etc. It will be observed that while the pronominal meaning is alone retained in French, the adverbial is far the more usual in Italian. See Corticelli, *Lingua Toscana*, p. 79.

impeded way behind my Leader, and I was full of compassion at the just vengeance. And lo, just as Luke writes of it, how Christ appeared to the two that were in the way, already risen forth from the hole of the tomb, to us appeared a shade, and it was coming behind us, regarding at its feet the prostrate crowd; nor took we note of it, so it spoke first, saying: 'My brethren, God give you peace.' We turned on a sudden, and Virgil gave back to him the sign which befits that. Then he began: 'May the true

Per la impacciata via retro al mio Duca,
 E condolièmi alla giusta vendetta.^b
 Ed ecco, sì come ne scrive Luca,
 Che Cristo apparve ai due, ch' erano in via,
 Già surto fuor della sepulcral buca,
 Ci apparve un' ombra, e dietro a noi venìa, 10
 Dappiè guardando la turba che giace;
 Nè ci addemmo di lei, sì parlò pria,
 Dicendo: Frati miei, Dio vi dea pace.
 Noi ci volgemma subito, e Virgilio
 Rendè lui il cenno, ch' a ciò si conface.
 Poi cominciò: Nel beato concilio

^b *condoleami* 3 *W.*; *conduceami* 2; *conduciemi* 14.

⁶ *condolièmi*. For the form, cf. *movieno* x. 81, and see Diez ii. 130.

⁷ *ne* may be also taken in its frequent sense as dat. of *noi*, 'writes for us.'

¹¹ Notice the present *giace*, as elsewhere, when he is referring to a permanent feature.

¹² '*addarsi vale accorgersi*,' says Corticelli (p. 264). *sì* = *così*, according to Blanc; rather = Fr. *aussi*. Cf. Inf. xxix. 30. In both places Bianchi explains by '*sin chè*,' which seems awkward. Philalethes, 'also.'

court which banishes me in eternal exile, set thee in peace within the blessed council.' 'How?' said he (and we were going stoutly the while) 'if ye are shades that God on high deems not worthy, who has escorted you thus far along His stair?' And my Teacher: 'If thou regard the marks that this man carries, and that the Angel draws, thou wilt well see that it behoves that he reign with the good.

Ti ponga in pace la verace corte,
 Che me rilega nell' eterno esilio.
 Come, diss' egli, e parte andavam forte,^c
 Se voi siete ombre che Dio su non degni, 20
 Chi v' ha per la sua scala tanto scorte?
 E il Dottor mio: Se tu riguardi i segni
 Che questi porta e che l' Angel profila,
 Ben vedrai che coi buon convien ch' ei regni.

^c *andavan Gg. 3; egli, perchè andava Ald. (1); e perchè andate, Ald. (2); Land.*

¹⁷ *la verace corte.* Cf. xxxi. 41. Par. vii. 51.

¹⁹ If the reading *perchè* be taken, the words of course form part of Statius's question. On the other hand the first five editions have **parte andavam**, or **andavan** (this perhaps a misprint), and the parenthetic remark is quite in Dante's style, and adds much to the picture, cf. *andavamo introcque*, Inf. xx. 130. **parte** for 'intanto' is a frequent Tuscan idiom. It occurs, for instance, Inf. xxix. 16, and Petrarch Son. cccii. See Fanfani and Corticelli, s.v. Post. Cass. 'i.e. *interim*.'

²⁰ **degni**. *digno* and *dignor* are not unfrequent in this sense, but usually, or always, have a qualifying ablative, as 'non equidem tali me dignor honore.' There is, however, an instance of *digno* with infinitive in Lucr. v. 51. I do not think Bianchi's explanation of **su degni** as 'degni di ricever su,' though supported by Landino's 'degne di star in cielo,' is consistent with grammar. **degni**, in fact, is exactly the opposite of *sdegni*. The subjunctive may be explained as expressing a 'quality required'; Diez iii. 345.

But since she who spins day and night had not yet drawn for him the skein which Clotho puts on for each man and packs together, his soul, which is sister to thine and mine, coming up could not come alone, because it beholds not after our fashion; wherefore I was drawn forth from the ample throat of Hell to show him, and I shall show him further as far as my schooling may bring him. But tell us, if thou knowest, wherefore the mountain gave erewhile such shudders, and wherefore all at once appeared to cry as far as its soft base?' Thus questioning pierced he for me

Ma perchè lei, che dì e notte fila,^d
 Non gli avea tratta ancora la conocchia,
 Che Cloto impone a ciascuno e compila;
 L' anima sua, ch' è tua e mia sirocchia,
 Venendo su non potea venir sola,
 Perocch' al nostro modo non adocchia;^e 30
 Ond' io fui tratto fuor dell' ampia gola
 D' inferno per mostrarli, e mostrerolli
 Oltre, quanto il potrà menar mia scuola.
 Ma dinne, se tu sai, perchè tai crolli
 Diè dianzi il monte, e perchè tutti ad una^f
 Parver gridare infino ai suoi piè molli?^g

^d *per colei* Cass. 1234; *po' colei* Bi.; *di con notte* Gg.

^e *nostro mondo* Gg.

^f *tutto* (alt. to *tutti*) Gg.; *tutta* Cass.

^g *Parve* Gg. 145; *gradir* 1245.

²⁵ **lei.** Lachesis; cf. xxv. 79. Bianchi's reading **po'** is, of course, for **poi**, taken as in x. 1.

²⁷ **compila.** 'Compone distribuendo a ciascuno . . . stame' Velutello; 'rstringe, girandole in torno' Bianchi; 'riunire, adattare' Blanc; 'unwickelt' Philalethes.

³⁵ **dianzi.** So xx. 122.

through the needle's eye of my desire, so that, only with the hope, my thirst became less craving.

That one began: 'Thing is there none which without order the religion of the mountain feels, or which is beyond wont. This place is free from every alteration; occasion may arise by reason of one whom the heaven is of itself receiving into itself, but not of aught else; because not rain, not hail, not snow, not dew, not hoar-frost falls any higher than the short stairway of three steps. Clouds

Sì mi diè dimandando per la cruna
 Del mio disio, che pur con la speranza
 Si fece la mia sete men digiuna.
 Quei cominciò: Cosa non è che sanza 40
 Ordine senta la religione
 Della montagna, o che sia fuor d' usanza.
 Libero è qui da ogni alterazione:
 Di quel che il ciel in sè da sè riceve,
 Esserci puote, e non d' altro, cagione.^h
 Perchè non pioggia, non grando, non neve,
 Non rugiada, non brina più su cade,ⁱ
 Che la scaletta dei tre gradi breve.

^h *altra* *cag.* Cass. 14 *Bi.*

ⁱ *bruma* Gg.

³⁷ *mi diè per la cruna*, cf. 'nel petto mi diedi' ix. 111, 'dar per la fronte' xxiv. 148.

⁴¹ *religione*, 'ritual' or 'rule,' much as in Par. xi. 93.

⁴³ Bianchi notices the use of *qui* as = *questo luogo*. Cf. xii. 54.

⁴⁵ *altro* appears to have the weight of authority, though *altra*, which Bianchi and Philalethes adopt, is perhaps the easier reading. I doubt the latter's interpretation of *da sè* in l. 44 as = 'from it,' i.e. the mountain; for though, as he says, *sui*, etc., often lose their reflexive force in late Latin and the derived languages, the transition here is too harsh. There seems no objection to Vellutello's explanation: 'Il cielo, cioè Iddio, mosso da sè.'

appear not dense or rare, nor lightning-flash, nor Thaumás's daughter, who yonder often changes quarters. Dry exhalation advances no further upward than to the highest of the three steps which I said, where the vicar of Peter has his feet. It quakes perhaps lower down little or much; but by reason of wind which is hidden (I know not how) in the earth, up here it has quaked never; it quakes here when

Nuvole spesse non paion nè rade,
 Nè corruscar, nè figlia di Taumante, 50
 Che di là cangia sovente contrade.
 Secco vapor non surge più avante,
 Ch' al sommo dei tre gradi ch' io parlai,
 Ov' ha il Vicario di Pietro le piante.^k
 Trema forse più giù poco od assai :
 Ma, per vento che in terra si nasconda,^l
 Non so come, quassù non tremò mai :^m
 Tremaci quando alcuna anima monda

^k *Dov' il vic. . . . ha le Gg.* ^l *nasconda? Gg.*

^m *Non so come. e . . . mai? Gg.*

^{50, 51} Thaumás's daughter = Iris (e.g. Aen. ix. 5). The rainbow of course changes its position with the sun. **contrada** seems here to have its proper force, of a district lying *over against* the observer; like Germ. *gegen*, of which it was probably a translation; **di là**: i.e. of course, as usual 'on the earth.' The symbolical meaning of this passage is that earthly passions are here extinct.

⁵² **secco vapor**. Probably only the wind — ἡ ξηρὰ ἀναθυμίασις τῶν πνευμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ φύσις πάντων. Ar. Meteor. iii. 4—but the view that shooting-stars are intended receives some support from v. 37. Cf. xxviii. 97-102.

⁵⁶ δεῖ νοεῖν ὅτι . . . τρόμων καὶ σφυγμῶν αἰτίον ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐναπολαμβανομένου δύναμις. Id. iv. 8.

⁵⁷ **non so come**, almost = Lat. 'nescio quomodo.' Cf. ii. 23, xxiv. 37.

any soul feels itself so pure that it rises or that it moves to mount up; and such a cry speeds it. Of its purity, its sole volition makes proof, which wholly free to change its company, seizes the soul and aids it with will. It wills indeed at first; but that impulse allows it not, which divine justice sets against will, as once toward the sin,

Si sente, sì che surga, o che si muova
 Per salir su, e tal grido seconda. 60
 Della mondia il sol voler fa pruova,ⁿ
 Che tutto libero a mutar convento^v
 L' alma sorprende, e di voler le giova.
 Prima vuol ben : ma non lascia il talento,
 Che divina giustizia contra voglia,

ⁿ *m. suo voler Cass.; sol voler Gg. W. De la immond. solver si fa nova 2; mond. solver si fa 1345.*

^o *tutta libera 23 W.*

⁶³ **di voler le giova.** 'Am Wollen Freud' ihr gebend.'—Philaethes. But is not **giovare** in this sense always impersonal? I have followed Blanc.

⁶⁴ Philaethes explains this passage by a reference to Aquinas's doctrine (S.T. Suppl. Q. 100. Art. 4) of an absolute and a conditioned will, the germ of which may be found in Ar. Eth. iii. 4. The absolute will (**voglia**) tends towards virtue in this world and happiness in the next; but the conditioned (**talento**), by which men bear present apparent pain for the sake of good to follow ('sicut ustio est voluntaria propter sanitatem consequendam'), is made the means in the next world of purgation, by disposing the soul to suffer until it is purified. It is a kind of perversion of this which makes men sin in spite of consequences. **talento** has of course here, as in Inf. v. 39, *l.* 55, and in the sonnet beginning 'Guido vorrei,' its original meaning of a weight in the balance (*τάλαντον*), hence an impulse or desire. So Bocc. ii. 9: 'M' è venuto in talento.' The modern meaning of 'talent,' arising from the parable, is comparatively recent. It seems to date from the fifteenth century in English, and does not appear in French till the seventeenth.

toward the torment. And I, who have lain in this woe five hundred years and more, have but now felt a free will for a better threshold. Wherefore thou didst feel the earthquake, and hear the pious spirits throughout the mount render praise to that Lord, who may He soon lead them on high.' Thus said he to him; and because one delights in drinking in proportion as one's thirst is great, I should not skill to say how great benefit he did me. And my sage Leader: 'Now I see the net which holds you here, and how the snare is broken; wherefore it quakes here, and whereof ye rejoice together. Now please it thee that I know who thou wast, and that I understand in thy words wherefore thou hast lain so many ages here.' 'At the time that the good Titus, with the aid of

Come fu al peccar, pone al tormento.
Ed io che son giaciuto a questa doglia
Cinquecento anni e più, pur mo sentii
Libera volontà di miglior soglia.
Però sentisti il tremoto, e li pii 70
Spiriti per lo monte render lode
A quel Signor, che tosto su gl' invii.
Così gli disse: e però che si gode
Tanto del bere quant' è grande la sete,
Non saprei dir quanto mi fece prode.
E il savio Duca: Omai veggio la rete
Che qui vi piglia, e come si scalappia,
Perchè ci trema, e di che congaudete.
Ora chi fosti piacciati ch' io sappia;
E perchè tanti secoli giaciuto 80
Qui sei, nelle parole tue mi cappia.
Nel tempo che il buon Tito, con l' aiuto

the most high King, avenged the wounds whence issued the blood sold by Judas, with the name which most lasts and most honours, was I there,' answered that spirit, 'famous enough, but not as yet with faith. So sweet was the spirit of my voice, that me, a man of Toulouse, Rome drew to herself, where I merited to adorn my temples with myrtle. Statius the folk still name me on that side: I sang of Thebes and then of the great Achilles; but I fell in the way with the second burthen. To my ardour were seed the sparks which warmed me of the divine flame, whence

Del sommo Rege, vendicò le fora
 Ond' uscì il sangue per Giuda venduto;
 Col nome che più dura e più onora,
 Er' io di là, rispose quello spirto,
 Famoso assai, ma non con fede ancora.
 Tanto fu dolce mio vocale spirto,
 Che Tolosano a sè mi trasse Roma,
 Dove mertai le tempie ornar di mirto. 90
 Stazio la gente ancor di là mi noma:
 Cantai di Tebe, e poi del grande Achille:
 Ma caddi in via con la seconda soma.
 Al mio ardor fur seme le faville
 Che mi scaldar della divina fiamma,

⁸³ Cf. Par. vi. 92.

⁸⁵ I.e. the name of poet. The exact date of Statius's birth is uncertain, but it was probably about A.D. 65. As he died in the last year of Domitian, A.D. 96, the other date which Philaethes gives, A.D. 85, is impossible. The belief that he was born at Toulouse arises from a confusion of him with a rhetorician of the same name, for which Lactantius is responsible. From *Silvae* v. 3. ll. 105, 106 it appears that he was a Neapolitan. But the *Silvae* had not been recovered in Dante's time.

⁸⁸ *dolce*. In *Conv.* iii. 25 he is called 'Stazio, il dolce poeta.' Cf. *Juvenal* vii. 84.

⁹³ The *Achilleid* ends abruptly at l. 452 of the second book.

more than a thousand have been kindled; I speak of the Aeneid, which was mother to me, and was to me a nurse in poet's art; without it I had not stayed a drachm's weight. And to have lived on earth when Virgil lived, I would agree to a year more than I owe, to my issue from exile.' These words turned Virgil to me with a face which in its silence said, 'Be silent'; but virtue cannot all it would; for laughter and tears follow so much the passion from which each springs, that they least obey will in the most truthful men. I at all events smiled, as the man who

Onde sono allumati più di mille :
 Dell' Eneida dico, la qual mamma
 Fummi, e fummi nutrice poetando :
 Senz' essa non fermai peso di dramma.^P
 E per esser vivuto di là quando 100
 Visse Virgilio, assentirei un sole
 Più ch' i' non deggio al mio uscir di bando.
 Volser Virgilio a me queste parole
 Con viso che tacendo dicea : Taci :
 Ma non può tutto la virtù, che vuole ;
 Chè riso e pianto son tanto seguaci
 Alla passion da che ciascun si spicca,
 Che men seguon voler nei più veraci.
 Io pur sorrisi, come l' uom ch' ammicca ;

^P *non fe' mai Gg. ; fer mai 124.*

^{97, 98} Cf. the apostrophe of Statius to his own poem (Theb. xii. 816, 817):

Nec tu divinam Aeneida tempta,
 Sed longe sequare, et vestigia semper adora.

⁹⁹ **fermai**: literally, 'made stationary in the scale,' i.e. balanced.

¹⁰⁵ Most interpreters take **la virtù che vuole** (as in Par. vii. 25, and l. 33 of the Canzone 'Amor dacchè') to mean, as it often does, the faculty that wills, i.e. the will. But this seems rather pedantic in a passage of such playful humour.

makes a sign; wherefore the shade held its peace and looked me in the eyes, where the semblance fixes itself most. And, 'So mayest thou bring so great labour to a good consummation,' said he, 'why did thy face but now show me a flash of laughter?' Now am I caught on one side and the other; the one makes me hold my peace, the other conjures me to say; wherefore I sigh, and am perceived. 'Say,' said my Master to me, 'and have no fear of speaking; but speak and tell him that which he asks with so great care.' Wherefore I: 'It may be that thou marvellest, ancient spirit, at the smile which I gave; but I will that greater admiration seize thee. This who guides on high my eyes is that Virgil from whom thou tookest force

Perchè l' ombra si tacque, e riguardommi 110
Negli occhi ove il sembiante più si ficca.

E, Se tanto lavoro in bene assommi,
Disse: perchè la faccia tua testeso
Un lampeggiar di riso dimostrommi?
Or son io d' una parte e d' altra preso:
L' una mi fa tacer, l' altra scongiora
Ch' io dica: ond' io sospiro, e sono inteso.

Di', il mio Maestro, e non aver paura,
Mi disse, di parlar, ma parla, e digli
Quel ch' e' dimanda con cotanta cura. 120

Ond' io: Forse che tu ti maravigli,
Antico spirto, del rider ch' io fei:
Ma più d' ammirazion vo' che ti pigli.
Questi che guida in alto gli occhi miei,
E quel Virgilio, dal qual tu togliesti

¹¹¹ **il sembiante** = 'the expression of the face'; cf. Sp. *semblante*.
So Inf. xxiii. 146.

to sing of men and gods. If thou didst suppose other occasion for my laughter, leave it for untrue; and believe that it was those words which thou spakest of him.' Already he was bending to embrace my Teacher's feet; but he said to him: 'Brother, do it not, for thou art a shade, and a shade thou seest.' And he, rising: 'Now canst thou comprehend the greatness of the love which warms me toward thee, when I forget our emptiness, handling the shadows as it were a solid thing.'

Forza a cantar degli uomini e de' Dei.
 Se cagione altra al mio rider credesti,
 Lasciala per non vera, ed esser credi^a
 Quelle parole che di lui dicesti.
 Già si chinava ad abbracciar li piedi 130
 Al mio Dottor: ma ei gli disse: Frate,
 Non fàr: chè tu sei ombra, ed ombra vedi.
 Ed ei surgendo: Or puoi la quantitate
 Comperder dell' amor ch' a te mi scalda,
 Quando dismento nostra vanitate,
 Trattando l' ombre come cosa salda.

^a *vera esser e cr.* Cass. 1234 *W.*; *asser* 5.

¹³² *sqq.* Yet Sordello and Virgil had embraced each other (vi. 75). It is curious that Dante should have been guilty of this oversight; still more curious that, as far as I know, no commentator should have observed it.

¹³³ **quantitate.** Not used elsewhere in D.C. In fact it was at this time a learned word, representing Gr. *ποσότης*. Philalethes renders 'Wievielheit.'

CANTO XXII

ARGUMENT

They ascend to the sixth circle, while Statius explains how he was turned from his sin, and led to become a Christian by the reading of certain passages of Virgil. Presently they reach a tree of strange form, and afterwards hear voices uttering examples of the virtue of abstinence.

ALREADY the Angel was left behind us—the Angel who had turned us to the sixth circle, having erased from my face one stroke ; and those who have their desire to justice he had pronounced to us Blessed, and his voices with

GIA era l' Angel dietro a noi rimaso,
L' Angel che n' avea volti al sesto giro,
Avendomi dal viso un colpo raso :
E quei c' hanno a giustizia lor disiro,
Detto n' avea *Beati*, e le sue voci^a

^a *avean* Cass. 1234 *W.*; *in le sue Ald.*

⁵ I have followed Bianchi and Philalethes in reading *avea*, which is found in Gg., though *avean* has, as Blanc points out, more authority. He takes *quei* as the subject, *ne* as the object of the sentence ; 'the souls remaining behind called us blessed.' Landino and Vellutello also take this view, and suppose the words to have been those of the Psalm *Beati quorum*. But this is utterly against all analogy, as is

sitiunt and naught else, furnished forth this. And I lighter than through the other passages was going my way in such wise that without any labour I followed upward the swift spirits; when Virgil began: 'Love, set on fire of virtue, always kindles another, so only that its flame appear outwardly. Wherefore, from the hour when Juvenal descended among us in the border of Hell, who made known to me

Con *sitiunt*, senz' altro ciò fornirò.^b
 Ed io più lieve che per l' altre foci,
 M' andava sì che senza alcun labore
 Seguiva in su gli spiriti veloci:^c
 Quando Virgilio cominciò: Amore
 Acceso da virtù sempre altro accese,
 Pur che la fiamma sua paresse fuore.
 Onde, dall' ora che tra noi discese
 Nel limbo dello inferno Giuvenale,

10

^b *sitio e senz' a. W.; sitio senz' Gg. Cass. 1234.*

^c *Sequivan su Gg.*

also the notion involved in the reading *sitio*, which they take as a detached ejaculation. It will be observed, that although the beatitudes at the end of each circle are sometimes uttered apparently by several voices, yet, wherever an angel is specially mentioned as stationed at the passage, it is he who pronounces the words; and in the other cases the voices would seem to be angelic. Here perhaps the other voices may be understood to follow in a kind of chorus. Cf. xii. 110. **fornire** originally means 'to further,' 'complete'; so here it may convey the idea of filling up, or confirming. The words here indicated are evidently 'Beati qui sitiunt justitiam,' *esuriunt* being left for the sixth circle, xxiv. 154. The emphasis is on the *justitiam*, *πλεονεξία* being, according to Ar. Eth. v. 1, a subdivision of *ἀδικία*. Cf. also De Mon. i. 13, 'justitiae maxime contrariatur cupiditas'; and see Perez ('I sette Cerchi'), who quotes Aquinas to show that this is the appropriate beatitude for this point, and also points out the parallel in these and the next three lines to the exit from the first circle, xii. 115-117.

¹¹ **accese** has here the force of an aorist. See note xxxii. 34.

thy affection, my goodwill toward thee was as great as ever bound me for an unseen person, so that now these steps will appear to me short. But tell me, and as a friend pardon me if too great security loosens my rein, and henceforth talk with me as a friend ; how could avarice find a place within thy breast, amid wisdom so great as that whereof through thy care thou wast full ?' These words made Statius move a little towards laughter first ; then he answered : ' Every word of thine is to me a dear token of love. But oftentimes things appear which give false material for doubting, by reason of the true occasions which are hidden. Thy demand proves to me that thy belief is that I was avaricious

Che la tua affezion mi fe palese,
 Mia benvoglienza inverso te fu quale
 Più strinse mai di non vista persona,
 Sì ch' or mi parran corte queste scale.
 Ma dimmi, e come amico mi perdona,
 Se troppa sicurtà m' allarga il freno, 20
 E come amico omai meco ragiona :
 Come poteo trovar dentro al tuo seno
 Luogo avarizia, tra cotanto senno,
 Di quanto per tua cura fosti pieno ?
 Queste parole Stazio muover fenno
 Un poco a riso pria ; poscia rispose :
 Ogni tuo dir d' amor m' è caro cenno.
 Veramente più volte appaion cose,
 Che danno a dubitar falsa matera,
 Per le vere cagion che son nascose. 30
 La tua dimanda tuo creder m' avvera
 Esser, ch' io fossi avaro in l' altra vita,

in the other life, perhaps by reason of that circle where I was. Know then that avarice was put too far away from me, and this disproportion thousands of the moon's revolutions have punished. And if it were not that I made right my care, when I understood the passage where thou criest, in wrath as it were, at human nature: "Why restrainest thou not, O holy hunger of gold, the desire of mortals?"

Forse per quella cerchia dov' io era.
 Or sappi ch' avarizia fu partita
 Troppo da me: e questa dismisura
 Migliaia di lunari hanno punita.
 E se non fosse ch' io drizzai mia cura,
 Quand' io intesi là dove tu chiami,
 Crucciato quasi all' umana natura,
 Perchè non reggi tu, o sacra fame
 Dell' oro, l' appetito dei mortali? ^d

40

^d *gli appetiti Gg. Cass.*

³⁶ Six thousand months, says Philalethes, estimating by xxi. 67, 68.

^{40, 41} These lines, intended as a rendering of Aen. iii. 56, 57, have puzzled the commentators greatly. They are divided, in the first place, between the readings **perchè** and **a che** (for Buti's **per che**, 'through what ways,' is of no value). The weight of authority is altogether in favour of **perchè**, and this is the reading of 12345, Aldus, Landino; the latter of whom either does not see, or shirks the difficulty. The Ottimo reads **perchè**, but explains **a che**; and in the note to xx. 60, translates the same passage from Virgil, with **a che**, which is of course the correct rendering of 'quid' here, and therefore all the less likely to have been altered by copyists to **perchè**. We must next observe that the only meaning of 'cogis,' which can be rendered by **reggi**, is 'restrainest'; and from this it is pretty clear that Dante understood 'sacra fame' in a good sense, equivalent to the 'holy poverty' of theologians. There is, however, something to be said for the interpretation of J. della Lana, that a 'holy hunger' is that which would keep a man from spending unduly. *Reggere* usually takes *a* (Diez iii. 118); so that we ought, perhaps, to read **all' appetito**.

I had found myself turning in the woful jousts. Then I perceived that the hands could spread their wings too much to spend, and thus I repented of this as of my other sins. How many will arise with their hair shorn, through the ignorance which takes away repentance for this sin while they live, and in their last hour! And know that the fault which meets any sin by direct opposition, together with it in this world dries its green. Wherefore if I have been among that folk who bewail avarice, to purge me, it

Voltando sentirei le giostre grame.
 Allor m' accorsi che troppo aprir l' ali
 Potean le mani a spendere, e pentèmi^e
 Così di quel come degli altri mali.
 Quanti risurgeran coi crini scemi
 Per l' ignoranza che di questa pecca
 Toglie il pentir vivendo, e negli estremi!
 E sappi, che la colpa che rimbecca
 Per dritta opposizione alcun peccato, 50
 Con esso insieme qui suo verde secca.
 Però s' io son tra quella gente stato,
 Che piange l' avarizia, per purgarmi,
 Per lo contrario suo m' è incontrato.

^e *spander Gg.*

⁴² **voltando sentirei.** I think a similar construction to Lat. 'sensit delapsus'; but **sentirei** may be taken as governing **giostre**. The reference is of course to the punishment of the avaricious and prodigal in Hell, as described in Inf. vii.

⁴⁶ See Inf. vii. 57. These are the prodigals.

⁴⁹ **rimbecca.** 'Proprio rimbeccare è quando ripercotiamo indietro la palla, che ci viene incontro.'—Land.

⁴⁹⁻⁵¹ As a matter of fact, there is no other sin to which this general rule can apply; unless we reckon the *accidiosi* and *iracondi* who are together in Hell.

has befallen me by reason of its contrary.' 'Then, too, when thou sangest the cruel war of the twofold grief of Jocasta,' said the singer of the Bucolic strains, 'by that string which Clio there with thee touches, it seems that that faith had not yet made thee faithful, without the which good works suffice not. If thus it is, what sun or what candles so dispelled thy darkness that thou directedst afterward thy sails behind the Fisher?' And he to him: 'Thou at first leddest me toward Parnassus to drink in its caverns, and next didst light me on the road to God. Thou didst as he

Or quando tu cantasti le crude armi
 Della doppia tristizia di Giocasta,
 Disse il cantor dei bucolici carmi,
 Per quel che Clio lì con teco tasta,
 Non par che ti facesse ancor fedele
 La fè, senza la qual ben far non basta.^f 60
 Se così è, qual sole o quai cande-
 Ti stenebraron sì che tu drizzasti
 Poscia dietro al Pescator le vele?
 Ed egli a lui: Tu prima m' inviasti^g
 Verso Parnaso a ber nelle sue grotte,
 E poi appresso Dio m' alluminasti.^h

^f *La fede senza qual Gg. Cass.* ^g *prima m' incitasti Cass.*
^h *E prima Ald.*

⁵⁶ **doppia tristizia**, i.e. the quarrel between her two sons.

⁵⁸ The reference is to l. 41 of the first book of the Thebaid, where Clio is invoked. It is odd that this should be regarded as an evidence of paganism, seeing how often Dante does the like. **con teco**; cf. *Sp. contigo*.

⁶³ **il Pescator**, St. Peter. So *Par.* xviii. 136.

⁶⁶ **e poi**. The reading which Witte and Bianchi take is evidently right.

who goes by night, who bears a light behind him, and helps not himself, but after him makes the people wise, when thou saidst : "The world renews itself ; Justice returns, and the first age of man ; and a new progeny descends from Heaven." Through thee I was a poet, through thee a Christian ; but that thou mayest better see that which I outline, I will stretch forth my hand to put the colours. Already was the whole world teeming with the true belief, sown by the messages of the eternal realm ; and thy word above-mentioned was in harmony with the new preachers ; wherefore I took the custom to visit them. At last they came to

Facesti come quei che va di notte,
 Che porta il lume dietro, e sè non giova,
 Ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte ;
 Quando dicesti : Secol si rinnova, 70
 Torna giustizia, e primo tempo umano,
 E progenie discende dal Ciel nuova.
 Per te poeta fui, per te cristiano ;
 Ma perchè veggi me' ciò ch' io disegno,
 A colorar distenderò la mano.
 Già era il mondo tutto quanto pregno
 Della vera credenza, seminata
 Per li messaggi dell' eterno regno ;
 E la parola tua sopra toccata
 Si consonava ai nuovi predicanti : 80
 Ond' io a visitarli presi usata.

⁶⁷ **quei che va.** The subjunctive would be more usual (as in *Inf.* xv. 45, etc.), but see *Diez* iii. 347.

⁷⁰ *Virg. Ecl.* iv. 5 sqq.

⁷³ It is impossible now to say what were Dante's reasons for supposing Statius to have been a Christian, as no evidence appears to exist either way. He is quoted more than once in the *Convito*, but without any reference being made to his conversion.

seem to me so holy, that when Domitian persecuted them, their complaints were not without tears from me. And whilst there was a station for me in that world, I aided them, and their upright fashions made me hold all other sects of small price: And before that I brought the Greeks to the rivers of Thebes in my poem had I baptism, but through fear I was a hidden Christian, for a long time making a show of paganism; and this lukewarmth made me circle the fourth ring for more than the fourth century. Thou, then, who didst lift for me the covering which hid from me so much good as I say, while that we still have surplus of our ascent, tell me where is our ancient Terence, Caecilius, Plautus,

Vennermi poi parendo tanto santi,
 Che quando Domizian li persegnette,
 Senza mio lagrimar non fur lor pianti :
 E mentre che di là per me si stette,
 Io gli sovvenni, e lor dritti costumi
 Fer dispregiare a me tutte altre sette.
 E pria ch' io conducessi i Greci ai fiumi
 Di Tebe poetando, ebb' io battesimo :
 Ma per paura chiuso cristian fù' mi, 90
 Lungamente mostrando paganesmo :
 E questa tiepidezza il quarto cerchio
 Cerchiar mi fe' più che il quarto centesimo.
 Tu dunque, che levato m' hai il coperchio
 Che m' ascondeva quanto bene io dico,
 Mentre che del salire avem soverchio,
 Dimmi dov' è Terenzio nostro antico,ⁱ

ⁱ amico Gg. Cass. Ald.

⁸⁷ **fer dispregiare a me.** Cf. the Fr. *faire faire à*. See note to viii. 106.

⁹⁷ I read **antico** with Witte, Blanc, and Bianchi, as the usual **amico** seems absurd when applied by Statius to Terence.

and Varro, if thou knowest; tell me if they are damned, and in what quarter.'

'They, and Persius, and I, and others enough,' answered my Leader, 'are with that Greek, whom the Muses suckled more than ever another, in the first girdle of the blind prison. Many times talk we of the mount which has our nursing-mothers always with it. Euripides is there with us, and Antiphon, Simonides, Agathon, and other more

Cecilio, Plauto e Varro, se lo sai :^k
 Dimmi se son dannati, ed in qual vico.
 Costoro e Persio ed io ed altri assai, 100
 Rispose il Duca mio, siam con quel Greco,
 Che le Muse lattar più ch' altro mai,
 Nel primo cinghio del carcere cieco.
 Spesse fiate ragioniam del monte,
 Ch' ha le nutrici nostre sempre seco.
 Euripide v' è nosco ed Antifonte,^l
 Simonide, Agatone, e altri piue

^k *Varo Cass. Gg.*

^l *Anacreonte Ald. Land. Bi.*

⁹⁸ **Varro.** If this, and not **Varo**, be the right reading, it is probably P. Terentius Varro Atacinus (Hor. i Sat. x. 46) who is meant, as the more famous Varro was not a poet, and it is of these alone that Statius speaks. I am inclined to agree, however, with Blanc that Dante was thinking of Varius, who is more than once mentioned by Horace in company with Virgil (especially A.P. 54, 55, where Caecilius and Plautus are also named), and by Virgil himself (according to one reading) in Ecl. ix. 35. Blanc thinks we should read **Vario**.

¹⁰⁴ **monte**, Parnassus.

¹⁰⁵ **nutrici**, the Muses.

¹⁰⁶ **Antifonte**, a tragedian mentioned by Aristotle in the Rhetoric (ii. 6, 23). MSS. give no sufficient authority for substituting **Anacreonte**. Blanc's Erklärungen appear here to be a better guide than his Dictionary.

Greeks, who once adorned their brows with laurel. There may be seen of thy folk Antigone, Deiphile, and Argia, and Ismene, sad as she lived. There is seen she who showed Langia; there is the daughter of Tiresias, and Thetis, and Deidamia with her sisters.'

Now both the poets began to hold their peace, intent afresh on looking round, free from the climbing and the

Greci, che già di lauro ornar la fronte.
 Quivi si veggion delle genti tue
 Antigone, Deifile, ed Argia, 110
 Ed Ismene sì trista come fue.
 Vedesi quella che mostrò Langia :
 Evvi la figlia di Tiresia, e Teti,
 E con le suore sue Deidamìa.
 Tacevansi amendue già li poeti,
 Di nuovo attenti a riguardare intorno,
 Liberi dal salire e dai pareti :

¹⁰⁹ **tue**, i.e. named in the Thebaid and Achilleid.

¹¹² This is Hypsipyle, who showed the spring called Langia to Adrastus and his army (Theb. iv. 716 sqq.) He seems to be quoting from the old metrical 'argument' to the book, the last line of which runs :

Hypsipyle monstrat lymphas Langia perennes.

¹¹³ **la figlia di Tiresia**. There is a difficulty here, because the only daughter of Tiresias, named by Statius, or whom Dante could have heard of, is Manto, who is placed among the soothsayers in the fourth pit of the Malebolge (Inf. xx. 52 sqq.) The commentators solve the problem in various ways. Blanc (Dict.) and Bianchi say it must be one of the other daughters, though in his Erkl. the former points out the impossibility of this; others hold the meaning of **ivi** to be merely 'in Hell,' but this will hardly do; while Philaethes boldly assumes that Dante, like Homer, has for once taken a nap; and this is perhaps the most reasonable explanation, unless indeed we may suppose that there is a wrong reading, of which there seems no evidence.

walls; and already four handmaids of the day were left behind, and the fifth was at the pole of the car, directing ever upward its blazing point, when my Leader: 'I think that it behoves us to turn our right shoulders to the outer edge, circling the mount as we are wont to do.' Thus usage was there our guidance, and we took the way with less doubt for the assent of that worthy soul.

They were going in front, and I solitary behind, and I was listening to their talk, which gave me understanding to sing. But soon the pleasant converse was broken by a tree which we found in mid-road, with apples sweet and good to smell. And as a fir-tree grows less by degrees upward,

E già le quattro ancelle eran del giorno
Rimase addietro, e la quinta era al temo
Drizzando pure in su l' ardente corno, 120
Quando il mio Duca: Io credo ch' allo stremo
Le destre spalle volger ci convegna,
Girando il monte come far solemo.
Così l' usanza fu lì nostra insegna:
E prendemmo la via con men sospetto,
Per l' assentir di quell' anima degna.
Elli givan dinanzi, ed io soletto
Diretro, ed ascoltava i lor sermoni,
Ch' a poetar mi davano intelletto.
Ma tosto ruppe le dolci ragioni 130
Un' alber che trovammo in mezza strada,
Con pomi ad odorar soavi e buoni.
E come abete in alto si digrada

¹¹⁸ I.e. it was now between ten and eleven A.M. Cf. for the expression xii. 81. The metaphor here seems a little confused.

¹³³ There is no reason to imagine this tree as growing downwards, in the fashion represented by the picture in the Venice edition of 1578.

from branch to branch, so that downward ; I think in order that no one may go up. On the side upon which our road was closed, fell from the lofty rock a clear liquor, and spread itself over the leaves. The two poets drew near the tree, and a voice within the leaves cried : 'Of this food ye shall have dearth.' Then it said : 'Mary thought more how the wedding should be honourable and complete, than

Di ramo in ramo, così quello in giuso,
 Cred' io perchè persona su non vada.
 Dal lato onde il cammin nostro era chiuso,
 Cadea dall' alta roccia un liquor chiaro,
 E si spandeva per le foglie suso.
 Li due poeti all' alber s' appressaro ;
 Ed una voce per entro le fronde
 Gridò : Di questo cibo avrete caro :
 Poi disse : Più pensava Maria, onde
 Fosser le nozze orrevoli ed intere,

140

Blanc's explanation seems perfectly satisfactory : 'Dieser Baum hat nicht, wie die Tanne, unten die stärksten Zweige, sondern seine Zweige sind unten dünn und schwach, und werden nach den Gipfel zu immer stärker.' It is curious, however, that Littré, s.v. *cime*, quotes from a mystery play of the twelfth century the following lines, which appear to refer to the mountain of Paradise :

Li arbre qui cheu seront
 Se dresseront tuit contre mont :
 A mont torneront lor racines,
 Contre terre seront les cymes.

¹³⁸ **per le foglie suso.** 'Nichts weiter heiszt, als über die Blätter verbreitete es sich, gerade wie xxiii. 69.' — Blanc. **su per** is little more than equivalent to Lat. *super*, e.g. Inf. viii. 10.

¹⁴¹ There appears to be an allusion to St. John iv. 13. **caro**, for *car-estia*, is common in early Italian, e.g. Villani vii. 3, and elsewhere. Later, **aver caro di** seems, like our 'want,' to have got the meaning 'to wish.'

of her mouth, which answers now for you. And the Roman women of old time for their drink were content with water, and Daniel held food of low price, and acquired wisdom. The first age was as gold beautiful; it made with hunger acorns savorous, and nectar with thirst every brook. Honey and locusts were the viands which nourished the Baptist in the desert; wherefore he is glorious, and so great as by the Gospel is revealed to you.'

Ch' alla sua bocca, ch' or per voi risponde :
 E le Romane antiche per lor bere
 Contenta furon d' acqua : e Daniello
 Dispregiò cibo, ed acquistò sapere.
 Lo secol primo quant' oro fu bello ;^m
 Fe' savorose con fame le ghiande,
 E nettare con sete ogni ruscello. 150
 Mele e locuste furon le vivande
 Che nudriro il Batista nel diserto :
 Perch' egli è glorioso, e tanto grande,
 Quanto per l' Evangelio v' è aperto.ⁿ

^m *che quant' or' fu W.*

ⁿ *n' è aperto Gg. Cass. 1234.*

¹⁴⁵ Val. Max. ii. 1. § 5: Vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit.

¹⁵¹ Sa viande fut miel et langoustes.—Trésor i. 2. chap. 66.

CANTO XXIII

ARGUMENT

As they wait by the tree, they are overtaken by souls who are expiating the sin of gluttony. These are lean with hunger ; and amongst them Dante sees Forese Donati, with whom he converses, and who foretells evil to the women of Florence for their excessive wantonness.

WHILE I was fixing my eyes through the green leaves in such wise as he is wont to do who wastes his life after the little bird, my more than father began to say to me : ‘ Son, come now, for the time that is assigned to us must be more usefully apportioned.’ I turned my gaze, and my pace not

MENTRE che gli occhi per la fronda verde
Ficcava io così, come far suole
Chi dietro all’ uccellin sua vita perde,^a
Lo più che Padre mi dicea : Figliuole,
Vieni oramai, chè il tempo che c’ è imposto,
Più utilmente compartir si vuole.
Io volsi il viso, e il passo non men tosto

^a *agli uccellini Cass. ; uccellin W.*

^a **figliuole.** Bianchi says that this form occurs in prose, but gives no example, nor is it mentioned by either Diez or Corticelli. It seems best to take it with Blanc as a vocative.

less quickly after the sages, who were talking so that they made going of no cost to me. And one was heard to weep and chant, *Labia mea Domine*, in such fashion that it gave birth to delight and grief. 'O sweet Father, what is that which I hear?' I began; and he: 'Shades which go, perchance loosing the knot of their debt.' As do the pilgrims full of thought when overtaking by the way folk unknown, that they turn round to them and stay not; so as they came behind us with more rapid motion, and passed, was gazing at us, silent and devout, a crowd of souls. In the eyes was each dark and hollow, pale in the face, and so wasted that the skin took its form from the bones. I do not believe

Appresso ai savi, che parlavan sìe
 Che l' andar mi facean di nullo costo :
 Ed ecco piangere e cantar s' udle, 10
Labia mea Domine, per modo
 Tal che diletto e doglia parturìe.
 O dolce Padre, che è quel ch' io odo ?
 Comincia' io : ed egli : Ombre che vanno
 Forse di lor dover solvendo il nodo.
 Sì come i peregrin pensosi fanno,
 Giugnendo per cammin gente non nota,
 Che si volgono ad essa e non ristanno ;
 Così dietro a noi, più tosto mota,
 Venendo e trapassando, ci ammirava 20
 D' anime turba tacita e devota.
 Negli occhi era ciascuna oscura e cava,
 Pallida nella faccia, e tanto scema
 Che dall' ossa la pelle s' informava.

⁹ The pleasure of hearing them repaid the labour.

¹¹ *Labia mea Domine*. Ps. li. 15, with allusion to the glutton's abuse of his lips to sin.

that when his hide alone was left, Erisichthon became so dried by hunger, when he most had fear of it. I began to say within myself, thinking: 'Lo the folk who lost Jerusalem when Mary set her teeth in her son!' Their eye-hollows appeared rings without gems: whoso reads *OMO* in the face of men, there would have well recognised the *M*. Who would have believed that the scent of an apple would so

Non credo che così a buccia strema
 Erisiton sì fusse fatto secco
 Per digiunar, quando più n' ebbe tema.
 Io dicea fra me stesso pensando: Ecco
 La gente che perdè Gerusalemme,
 Quando Maria nel figlio diè di becco. 30
 Parean l' occhiaie anella senza gemme.
 Chi nel viso degli uomini legge *omo*,
 Bene avria quivi conosciuto l' emme.
 Chi crederebbe che l' odor d' un pomo

²⁶ For the story of Erisichthon, see *Ov. Met.* viii. 738 sqq.

²⁷ Some take *tema* as = 'cause,' 'ground'; Lat. *thema*, but this, as Blanc points out, is unsatisfactory; nor does there seem any difficulty about the usual rendering.

³⁰ Josephus relates that, during the siege of Jerusalem, a woman named Mary was constrained by hunger to eat her own child. Cf. *Deuter.* xxviii. 57. In the Italian version of the *Trésor*, bk. ii. ch. 5, the incident is referred to; but the passage does not occur in the original French. *diè di becco*, cf. *dar di piglio*, *di morso*, *di cozzo*, etc., see note to i. 49. Philalethes boldly renders 'schnabel.'

³² The poet Dante, in his view of Purgatory, found gluttons so meagre and extenuated, that he conceited them to have been in the siege of Jerusalem, and that it was easy to have discovered *Homo* or *Omo* in their faces: *M* being made by the two lines of their cheeks arching over the eyebrows to the nose, and their sunk eyes making *oo*, which makes up *Omo*.—Sir T. Browne, *Hydriotaphia*.

have ordered, begetting a longing, and that of a stream, if he knew not how? I was already in act to look what so hungered them, by reason of the occasion, not yet manifest, of their leanness, and of their sorry scurf; and lo! from the depth of its head a shade turned its eyes on me, and gazed fixedly; then cried aloud: 'What grace, I pray, is this?' Never should I have recognised him by the face, but in his voice became clear to me that which the aspect

Sì governasse, generando brama,^b
 E quel d' un' acqua, non sapendo como?^c
 Già era in ammirar che sì gli affama
 Per la cagione ancor non manifesta
 Di lor magrezza e di lor trista squama:
 Ed ecco del profondo della testa 40
 Volse a me gli occhi un' ombra, e guardò fiso,
 Poi gridò forte: Qual grazia m' è questa?
 Mai non l' avrei riconosciuto al viso:
 Ma nella voce sua mi fu palese
 Ciò che l' aspetto in sè avea conquiso.^d

^b *governando generasse* 5.

^c *E quel dunque* 145.

^d *l' aspetto suo av. Gg.*

³⁸ Both for sense and for construction cf. xxii. 30.

³⁹ **squama.** The 'desquamation' of the skin is a well-known symptom of extreme starvation. See, for example, *The Times* of July 17, 1877, containing a report of the famine in the Madras Presidency. Dante may have observed it in some of the frequent famines of that time.

⁴² **mi** seems here to be a 'dativus ethicus.' 'Was wird mir da für Gnade!'—Philalethes. See Diez iii. 59. : There is possibly a reminiscence of the 'unde hoc mihi' of St. Luke i. 43.

⁴⁵ **conquiso.** '*Conquidere* importunare, turbare,' says Fanfani; but, as Blanc points out, there is no need here for any meaning other than that of Fr. *conquis*. **avea conquiso** is not exactly a pluperfect (cf. xviii. 51, xix. 16); rather, **conquiso** is in apposition with **che**, **ciò** being 'his identity.'

held subdued in itself. This spark rekindled in me all my knowledge towards the altered lip, and I beheld again the face of Forese. 'Ah! look not narrowly upon the dry scab which discolours my skin,' he began to pray, 'nor upon any lack of flesh that I have; but tell me the truth of thyself, and who are those two souls who there make escort for thee; delay not thou to speak to me.' 'Thy face, which

Questa favilla tutta mi raccese
 Mia conoscenza alla cambiata labbia,
 E ravvisai la faccia di Forese.
 Deh non contendere all' asciutta scabbia,
 Che mi scolora, pregava, la pelle, 50
 Nè a difetto di carne ch' io abbia.
 Ma dimmi il ver di te, e chi son quelle^c
 Due anime che là ti fanno scorta:
 Non rimaner che tu non mi favelle.

^c *dì chi Gg. Cass. 1234.*

⁴⁸ Forese Donati, brother of Corso and Piccarda (Par. iii. 49) and kinsman of Dante's wife Gemma. (Landino, by the way, absurdly confuses Corso with Francesco d' Accorso, the jurist, who is mentioned Inf. xv. Vellutello goes further, and makes Forese brother of Accorso himself, who died some forty years before Dante was born.)

⁴⁹ Blanc in his Dictionary makes an unnecessary difficulty about *contendere*, and ends by taking it in 'the Latin sense' of *ricusare*, comparing Inf. xvi. 29. But the usual rendering is in fact much more in accordance with Latin. See for example Hor. 1 Ep. i. 28: *non possis oculis quantum contendere Lynceus*; and cf. Lucr. iv. 802. '*Stare ammirativo.*'—Vellutello.

⁵¹ Notice *ch' io abbia*, not *ch' io ho*, though just before we have *che scolora*. But the meaning is not quite the same. It is a *difetto*, not *al difetto*; the fact being that the construction is somewhat confused by the exigences of metre. But the point to which attention is drawn is in the one case the existence of the *scabbia*, in the other the amount of the *difetto*. Philalethes renders, '*achte nicht auf jene Schuppen die meine Haut verfärben, noch drauf, dass ich . . . Mangel leide.*'

being dead I once wept for, gives me now no less pain of sorrow,' I answered him, 'when I see it so distorted. Wherefore tell me, in God's name, what strips you so; make me not speak while I am marvelling, for ill can he speak who is full of other wish.' And he to me: 'Of the eternal counsel descends virtue into the water and into the plant which is left behind us, whereby I am thus made lean. All this folk who sing weeping, for following their appetite beyond measure, in hunger and in thirst are here again becoming holy. The odour which issues from the apple, and from the spray which spreads itself over the greenery, kindles in us care of drink and food. And not once

La faccia tua, ch' io lagrimai già morta,
 Mi dà di pianger mo non minor doglia,
 Rispos' io lui, veggendola sì torta.
 Però mi di', per Dio, che sì vi sfoglia;^f
 Non mi far dir, mentr' io mi maraviglio;
 Chè mal può dir chi è pien d' altra voglia. 60
 Ed egli a me: Dell' eterno consiglio
 Cade virtù nell' acqua e nella pianta
 Rimasa addietro, ond' io sì mi sottiglio.
 Tutta esta gente che piangendo canta,
 Per seguitar la gola oltre misura,
 In fame e in sete qui si rifà santa.
 Di bere e di mangiar n' accende cura
 L' odor ch' esce del pomo e dello sprazzo
 Che si distende su per la verdura.^g
 E non pure una volta, questo spazzo 70

^f *spoglia Gg. Cass.*

^g *discende Gg. Cass.*

⁷⁰ Probably meaning only that there were more trees than one; a second is mentioned in the next Canto. It may, however, if the comma

only as we circle this course does our pain renew itself; I say pain and I ought to say solace; for that Will leads us to the tree which led Christ with joy to say, "Eli," when He freed us with His blood.' And I to him: 'Forese, from that day in the which thou didst change world to a better life, five years have not passed up to now. If the power of sinning more was ended in thee before the hour

Girando, si rinfresca nostra pena :
 Io dico pena, e dovria dir sollazzo :
 Chè quella voglia all' arbore ci mena,^h
 Che menò Cristo lieto a dire Eli,
 Quando ne liberò con la sua vena.
 Ed io a lui : Forese, da quel dì,
 Nel qual mutasti mondo a miglior vita,ⁱ
 Cinqu' anni non son volti insino a qui.
 Se prima fu la possa in te finita

^h *ali albori Cass.; aglalberi Gg.*

ⁱ *mut. modo Gg.*

after **volta** be omitted, mean that the circuit had to be made more than once.

⁷³ **voglia.** Nearly all the commentators take this in much the same sense as the *talento* of xxi. 64, and explain 'as Christ desired to expiate the sins of men, so we to expiate our sins.' But this is surely a false parallel, and it seems better to take **voglia** to mean 'the will of God,' with an allusion to 'not my will but thine be done.' The Ottimo seems to see this also, though the note is somewhat rambling.

⁷⁷ Not as it is usually rendered 'Didst exchange *the* world *for* a better life.' Dante is very careful about his use of articles; and besides, we should have had *per*, not *a*. **mutare mondo** is like 'mutar parte' in Inf. xxvii. 51, or 'mutar lato' xi. 102; Lat. 'mutare sedes,' 'urbem,' etc. Cf. Petr. Son. ccii. 'Contenta aver cangiato albergo.' I am aware that my rendering is somewhat awkward; but 'change world' may be defended on the analogy of such expressions as 'change front,' etc.

⁷⁹ 'If you did not repent until infirmity put an end to your power of

came on of the kindly pain which re-weds us to God, how art thou come thus high? I thought to find thee still yonder below, where time by time repairs itself.' Wherefore he to me: 'My Nella, with her bursts of weeping, has brought me thus speedily to drink the sweet wormwood of the torments. With her devout prayers and with sighs she has drawn me from the coast where one waits, and has freed me from the other circles. My widow, whom much I loved, is the more dear to God, and more beloved,

Di peccar più, che sorvenisse l' ora 80
 Del buon dolor ch' a Dio ne rimarita,
 Come sei tu quassù venuto? Ancora ^k
 Io ti credea trovar laggiù di sotto,
 Dove tempo per tempo si ristora.¹
 Ond' egli a me: Sì tosto m' ha condotto
 A ber lo dolce assenzio dei martiri
 La Nella mia col suo pianger dritto.
 Con suoi prieghi devoti e con sospiri
 Tratto m' ha della costa ove s' aspetta,
 E liberato m' ha degli altri giri. 90
 Tant' è a Dio più cara e più diletta
 La vedovella mia che molto amai,

^k *di qua Ald. Land.; venuto ancora? Cass. Ald. Land.*

¹ *tema per tema 124.*

sinning more [cf. xi. 90], how is it that you have not had to wait longer at the foot of the mountain?' [cf. iv. 130 sqq.] The 'buon dolor' I take to be merely death.

⁸² The reading **venuto ancora?** involves taking **ancora** as equivalent to *già*, for which there seems no authority; though, as *non ancora* is the negative of *già*, and *vice versa*, it is possible that the meaning of 'hanc horam' may not yet have been definitely restricted to a future signification.

⁸⁴ Cf. iv. 131.

in proportion as in good works she is solitary; for the Barbagia of Sardinia is in its women far more chaste than the Barbagia where I left her. O sweet brother, what wouldst thou that I say? A time to come have I already in view, whereat this hour shall not be very ancient, in which it shall be forbidden in pulpit to the unblushing dames of Florence to go showing the bosom with the paps.

Quanto in bene operare è più soletta :
 Chè la Barbagia di Sardigna assai
 Nelle femmine sue è più pudica,
 Che la Barbagia dov' io la lasciai.
 O dolce frate, che vuoi tu ch' io dica ?
 Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto,
 Cui non sarà quest' ora molto antica,
 Nel qual sarà in pergamo interdetto 100
 Alle sfacciate donne Fiorentine
 L' andar mostrando con le poppe il petto.

⁹⁴ **Barbagia** is a district in the south of Sardinia. The inhabitants are said to have been originally called Barbaricini, and to have sprung from a settlement of prisoners (probably from Africa) by the Vandals. At this time they formed a semi-savage tribe, independent of the jurisdiction of the Pisans or any other. The mention of Saracens in l. 103 seems to suggest that they may have been regarded as the remainder of those who at one time occupied the island. See Philalethes's note. According to an authority quoted by Witte, the fashion of baring the bosom seems to have continued among the women of this district almost to the present time.

¹⁰⁰ The Ottimo, apparently crediting Dante with real prophetic powers, says that this denunciation from the pulpit occurred in 1351. The reference of Philalethes to Villani ix. 245 is not much more to the point, as the ordinance therein recorded was made in 1324. Severe sumptuary laws seem also to have been passed in 1329 (Vill. x. 153); and in vi. 69, the historian compares the ancient simplicity with the luxury of this time, much as Cacciaguida does in Par. xv. 100 sqq. He does not, however, distinctly mention any ecclesiastical or other censure to which Forese's words might refer.

What women of Barbary, what Saracens were ever, for whom there needed, to make them go covered, either spiritual or other discipline? But if the shameless ones were well informed of that sheaf which the swift heaven is binding for them, already would they have their mouths open to howl. For, if my foresight here deceives me not, they will be sorrowful, ere he clothes with hair his cheeks who now is comforted with lullaby. Ah brother! see now that thou hide thee no more from me; thou seest that not only I, but all this folk are gazing at that place where thou screenest the Sun.' Wherefore I to him: 'If thou recall to thy mind what thou wast with me and what I was with thee,

Quai Barbare fur mai, quai Saracine,
 Cui bisognasse, per farle ir coverte,
 O spiritali o altre discipline?
 Ma se le svergognate fosser certe
 Di quel che il ciel veloce loro ammanna,^m
 Già per urlare avrian le bocche aperte.
 Chè se l' antiveder qui non m' inganna,
 Prima fien triste che le guance impeli 110
 Colui che mo si consola con nanna.
 Deh frate, or fa che più non mi ti celi:
 Vedi che non pur io, ma questa gente
 Tutta rimira là dove il sol veli.
 Perch' io a lui: Se ti riduci a mente,
 Qual fosti meco e quale io teco fui,

^m *Di ciò che Gg.*

¹¹² With allusion to lines 52, 59.

¹¹⁵⁻¹¹⁷ Si tu recordaris modo eorum quae dicebamus et faciebamus vane vacando lasciviis, amoribus, et aliis rebus vanis, sequentes delectabilia non honesta, certe talis memoria erit amara tibi.—Benv. Those who contend that the faults which Dante presently confesses with tears

still will the present remembrance be grievous. From that life he who goes before me turned me the other day, when round the sister of him there showed herself' (and I showed the Sun). 'He has brought me through the deep night of those dead indeed, with this true flesh which follows him. Thence his succour has led me up, ascending and circling the mountain which straightens you whom the world made crooked. So long he speaks of bearing me company, till

Ancor fia grave il memorar presente.
 Di quella vita mi volse costui,
 Che mi va innanzi, l' altr' ier, quando tonda
 Vi si mostrò la suora di colui, 120
 E il sol mostrai. Costui per la profonda
 Notte menato m' ha dei veri morti
 Con questa vera carne che il seconda.ⁿ
 Indi m' han tratto su li suoi conforti,
 Salendo e rigirando la montagna^o
 Che drizza voi che il mondo fece torti.
 Tanto dice di farmi sua compagna,

ⁿ *viva carne Gg.*

^o *riguardando Gg. Cass.*

before Beatrice were merely 'aberrations from the revealed truth into the paths of philosophy and human knowledge' (Moore), can hardly have considered all that these few words seem to imply.

¹¹⁹ *l' altr' ier* = literally 'the other yesterday'; not of course in its modern sense of 'the day before yesterday.' *quando tonda*, etc.: cf. *Inf. xx. 127*. This portion of the poem is remarkable for a curious variation on Dante's usual descriptive style. He introduces in *ll. 121* and *131* of this Canto, and *19* and *89* of the next, short parentheses, almost like stage directions, to describe some gesture of the speaker. There is another instance in *xxvi. 116*. It will be observed that it is only in the sixth and seventh circles that the shades have the free use of eyes and limbs. Hitherto one or the other has always been under some constraint.

I am there where Beatrice will be ; there it behoves that I remain without him. Virgil is this who thus speaks to me ' (and I pointed to him), 'and this other is that shade, for whom erewhile your realm, which is discharging him from itself, shook every crag.'

Ch' io sarò là dove fia Beatrice :^p
Quivi convien che senza lui rimagna.
Virgilio è questi che così mi dice : 130
E additai lo : e quest' altro è quell' ombra
Per cui scosse dianzi ogni pendice
Lo vostro regno, che da sè la sgombra.

p dove sarà Gg.

CANTO XXIV

ARGUMENT

Sixth circle continued. Dante has further talk with Forese, who points out Pope Martin IV. and others. Bonagiunta of Lucca prophesies to him concerning his exile; and also speaks of the new art of poetry. They pass on, hearing instances of the ills wrought by the sin of gluttony; and presently reach a very bright angel, who shows them the passage to the next circle.

SPEECH made not going, nor going speech more slow; but in our converse we were going stoutly, as a ship urged by a good wind. And the shades which seemed things twice dead, through the pits of their eyes kept drawing in wonder at me, being made aware of my living. And I, in con-

NÈ il dir l' andar nè l' andar lui più lento
Facea, ma ragionando andavam forte,
Sì come nave pinta da buon vento.
E l' ombre, che parean cose rimorte,
Per le fosse degli occhi ammirazione
Traean di me, di mio vivere accorte.
Ed io continuando il mio sermone

² **andavam forte.** Cf. xxi. 19.

⁷ **continuando**, from the words with which the last Canto ends.

tinuance of my discourse, said : ' He goes his way upward perchance slower than he would do, for the sake of another. But tell me, if thou knowest, where is Piccarda ; tell me if I see any person to remark among this folk who so gaze on me.' ' My sister, who, between fair and good, was I know not which the most, triumphs already, joyful of her crown, in the high Olympus.' So said he first. And then : ' Here it is not forbidden to name each one, since our likeness is so pressed out by reason of our fare. This' (and he showed with his finger) ' is Bonagiunta—Bonagiunta

Dissi : Ella sen va su forse più tarda,
 Che non farebbe, per l' altrui cagione.
 Ma dimmi, se tu sai, dov' è Piccarda ;
 Dimmi, s' io veggio da notar persona
 Tra questa gente che sì mi riguarda.
 La mia sorella che tra bella e buona
 Non so qual fosse più, trionfa lieta
 Nell' alto Olimpo già di sua corona.
 Sì disse prima ; e poi : Qui non si vieta
 Di nominar ciascun, da ch' è sì munta
 Nostra sembianza via per la dieta.
 Questi, e mostrò col dito, è Bonagiunta,

10

⁸ *ella*, sc. *anima*, as elsewhere.

⁹ *altrui* : Dante himself.

¹⁷ I have followed the general interpretation of *munta* here, and no doubt *mugnere* is usually *mulgere*, as in xiii. 57 ; but *mungere* would give a better sense here—'wiped away.' There seems, however, no instance of this.

¹⁹ Bonagiunta of Lucca is mentioned De Vulg. El. i. 13, among those who wrote in their local dialects. He was of the family of the Orbicciani. Ginguéné mentions two poets of the name, both ecclesiastics, one secular and the other regular. It is the former who is here introduced.

of Lucca—and that face beyond him, more seamed than the others, had the Holy Church in its arms. He was of Tours, and through fasting purges the eels of Bolsena, and the strong white wine.’ Many others he showed me one by one; and with their naming all appeared content, so

Bonagiunta da Lucca : e quella faccia 20
 Di là da lui, più che l’ altre trapunta,
 Ebbe la santa Chiesa in le sue braccia :
 Dal Torso fu, e purga per digiuno
 L’ anguille di Bolsena e la vernaccia.
 Molti altri mi mostrò ad uno ad uno :
 E del nomar parean tutti contenti,

²¹ **trapunta**. ‘*Trapunto*, lavoro fatto col punto d’ ago ; ricamo.’ —Dict. Cr. Here it explains by ‘*stenuato*,’ a sense which it is not easy to obtain from the literal meaning of the word.

²² I.e. was Pope, and therefore husband of the Church (cf. xix. 137). It is Martin IV. who was Pope from January 25, 128½ to March 24, 128¾. Villani (vii. 106), obviously by a clerical error, gives the latter year as 1285 (O.S.); and the matter has been further confused by the fact that some historians seem to have partly overlooked the change of style, so that his Papacy has been made, e.g. by Philaethes, to last a year too long. His name was Simon de Brie. He was canon of St. Martin of Tours, and obtained the tiara by the aid of Charles of Anjou, with whom the previous Pope Nicholas III. had not been on good terms. Though he did his best for the French cause he was unable to prevent the reverses which befell Charles in his later years. His reign opened with the Sicilian Vespers, and before the end of it his patron was dead of grief, leaving his son a prisoner in the hands of his enemies. Villani speaks well of Martin IV., and does not mention his gluttonous propensity, which, however, is testified to by various anecdotes.

²⁴ **vernaccia**, Sp. *garnacha*, means a certain choice grape, and the wine made from it; also a drink of wine and honey. In the Decameron, however (Day x. Nov. 2), Ghino di Tacco gives the Abbot of Cluny dry toast and **vernaccia** in order to restore his health, impaired by too much good living; so that in that case it would seem to be some less choice wine. Here, too, as Pope Martin is said to have drowned his eels in the wine, it may be doubted if he would have used the best wine for that purpose. Philaethes has ‘*Firnewein*.’

that I saw not therefore one surly gesture. Using for very hunger their teeth on emptiness I saw Ubaldino of La Pila, and Boniface, who shepherded many peoples with his staff. I saw Master Marchese, who once had room to drink at Forli with less thirst, and even so was such that he felt himself not sated. But as he does who looks, and then

Si ch' io però non vidi un atto bruno.
 Vidi per fame a vuoto usar li denti
 Ubaldin dalla Pila, e Bonifazio
 Che pasturò col rocco molte genti. 30
 Vidi Messer Marchese, ch' ebbe spazio
 Già di bere a Forlì con men secchezza,
 E sì fu tal che non si sentì sazio.
 Ma come fa chi guarda, e poi fa prezza ^a

^a *s' apprezza Cass. 124 ; si prezza W. ; e non si p. 3.*

²⁹ Ubaldino (of Pila, a castle in the Mugello, or upper valley of the Sieve) belonged to the powerful Ghibeline family of the Ubaldini. Philaethes finds that he was father of Archbishop Roger of Pisa (Inf. xxxiii.), brother of Cardinal Octavian (Inf. x. 120, if it be he who is there intended), and uncle of Ugolino d' Azzo (xiv. 105). There is more variance of opinion as to the identity of Boniface, who was Archbishop of Ravenna, 1274-1295. The Ottimo says nothing; Landino says, 'fu francioso'; Vellutello makes him son to Ubaldino; Philaethes, however, finds them both in error, and believes him to have been of the family of the Fieschi, and nephew of Pope Innocent IV. He was employed by Honorius IV. to settle the quarrel between France and Aragon.

³⁰ *rocco*. There is a question whether the word means here 'rochet,' or 'pastoral staff.' I have preferred the latter, as giving a better sense, following herein Blanc and Bianchi; Philaethes translates 'Priesterrock,' but is not positive. See also Glossary, s.v. 'Rocco.'

³¹ Messer Marchese of Forli, according to Landino and others, belonged to the family of the Rigogliosi, but even this is uncertain. The story goes that 'dicendo il canovaio, che per tutto si dicea, che non facea mai altro che bere, rispose ridendo, Perchè non dicon essi ch' io ho sempre sete?'—Landino.

takes account more of one than another, did I to him of Lucca, who more appeared to wish acquaintance of me. He was muttering; and some 'Gentucca' I heard, in that place where he felt the stroke of the justice which so plucks

Più d' un che d' altro, fe' io a quel da Lucca,
 Che più pareva di me voler contezza.^b
 Ei mormorava; e non so che Gentucca
 Sentiva io là ov' ei sentia la piaga
 Della giustizia che sì gli pilucca.

^b *di me aver Cass. W. ; veder 14.*

³⁶ **voler** gives so much the best sense that I have adopted it, rather against authority. **contezza**, cf. xx. 29.

³⁷ **Gentucca**. This word has puzzled commentators as much as anything in the whole poem. Two explanations have been proposed: (a) Benvenuto and the Ottimo take the word as equivalent to *gentuccia*, 'low or common folk,' and the former understands it as an allusion to the injurious expressions used by Dante of Lucca in *Inf.* xvi., while the latter, taking 'non so che' as part of the speaker's words, sees in them a prophecy of the rise of the White party and the 'popolani'; (b) that Gentucca was the name of a Lucchese lady, of whom Dante was said to be enamoured, platonically or otherwise. This is the view of Buti, Landino, etc. Blanc agrees with Benvenuto, because **Gentucca** is not found elsewhere as a proper name, and, moreover, Dante would not be likely to refer to any irregular passion later than the supposed date of the Vision. But is **gentucca** for *gentuccia* supported by any analogy? and is there any reason to suppose that Dante's relations with the **femmina** of l. 43 were other than honourable? Moreover, Troya (*Veltro Allegorico*) states that there actually was a Lucchese lady with that name living in 1300. Her claim, however, must be set aside, as she appears to have been adult; but Professor Bartoli finds another, and gives good reason for thinking that she may be the person here alluded to. On the whole, Philalethes seems justified in calling Benvenuto's view 'sehr abenteuerlich,' and in preferring, with Bianchi, the other, and, as I venture to think, at once simpler and more poetical explanation of this difficult passage.

³⁸ **là**, i.e. between his lips. No one English word, I think, renders adequately the double **sentiva**. 'Perceived' perhaps comes nearest.

³⁹ **pilucca**, a similar metaphor to 'sì vi sfoglia,' xxiii. 58.

them. 'O soul,' said I, 'that seems so desirous to speak with me, do so that I may understand thee, and satisfy thyself and me with thy speech.' 'A woman is born, and wears not yet the wimple,' he began, 'who shall make my city please thee, in what fashion soever men may blame it. Thou shalt go thy way with this presage: if in my muttering thou didst receive error, the truth of things shall yet make it clear to thee. But say, if I see here him who drew forth the new rimes beginning, "Ladies who understanding have of love."' And I to him: 'I am one

O anima, diss' io, che par sì vaga 40
 Di parlar meco, fa sì ch' io t' intenda;
 E te e me col tuo parlare appaga.^c
 Femmina è nata, e non porta ancor benda,
 Cominciò ei, che ti farà piacere
 La mia città, come ch' uom la riprenda.^d
 Tu te n' andrai con questo antivedere:
 Se nel mio mormorar prendesti errore,^e
 Dichiareranti ancor le cose vere.
 Ma di' s' io veggio qui colui che fuore
 Trasse le nuove rime, cominciando, 50
Donne, ch' avete intelletto d' amore.
 Ed io a lui: Io mi son un che, quando

^c *del tuo Gg.*

^d *come l' uom Gg.*

^e *Se del Gg.*

⁴³ **femmina.** The Ottimo identifies her with the Alagia of xix. 142 (as an alternative to the symbolical interpretation already mentioned), who is said to have been married to Moroello Malaspina. The **benda** was the headdress of married women and (as in viii. 74) of widows.

⁴⁵ This line seems to dispose of Benvenuto's explanation given above. There is a clear opposition between the pleasure which Lucca will give to Dante, and the hard things said of it, not by him—as if that were right we should expect—but by *others*.

⁵¹ The beginning of the first Canzone in the Vita Nuova.

who mark when Love inspires, and in that fashion which he dictates within, go setting it forth.' 'O brother, now I see,' said he, 'the knot which held back the Notary, and Guittone, and myself, short of the sweet new style which I hear. I see well how your pens go along straitly after

Amore spira, noto, ed a quel modo,
 Ch' ei detta dentro, vo significando.
 O frate, issa vegg' io, diss' egli, il nodo,^f
 Che il Notaio e Guittone e me ritenne
 Di quà dal dolce stil nuovo ch' i' odo.^g
 Io veggio ben come le vostre penne
 Diretro al dittator sen vanno strette,

^f disse, *il n. 3 W.* ^g *el nuovo chiodo Cass. 3; il n. c. 124.*

⁵³ **noto.** The Ottimo absurdly takes this with **spira**, 'when Love blows full south,' and thereupon gives a long account of the names of the different winds!

⁵⁵ **issa**, Lombard for *ora*. Cf. Inf. xxvii. 21. Landino, after Buti, says it is a Lucchese idiom, for which he is severely reprovèd by Vellutello, who defends the purity of his native dialect at the expense of the Florentine. Benvenuto has *here* '*e 'l nuovo chiodo*, idest, *retinaculum*' (!); a very odd confusion. To l. 57, though he seems to have the correct reading, he has no gloss to the last four words.

⁵⁶ **il Notaio.** Jacopo, of Lentino in Sicily, one of the early writers of sonnets and canzoni, seems to have flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century. Ginguéné gives several specimens of his verses, a good many of which are extant. The two last quotations in Vulg. El. i. 12 are from him. Guittone d' Arezzo, one of the brotherhood of Frati Godenti, has the credit of having, if not invented, at least established the sonnet in its regular form. See note to xi. 97.

⁵⁷ **di quà** = Lat. *citra*. **ch' i' odo**: Cass. reading *e 'l nuovo chiodo*, translates *novum clavum*, and explains: 'Alludens vendentibus cartam Bononiae, et quaternos cum lineis habentibus certos clavos in se, secundum . . . formam librorum et voluminum veterum vel novorum.' Another note, however, has 'Quasi diceret, si modo deberem meas rimas compillare, modus quem tenes esset clavus meae menti; videlicet nunquam scriberem nisi incitatus a corde.'

him who dictates, the which surely did not come to pass from ours. And he who sets himself to look beyond this, sees no more from the one to the other style.' And as though satisfied, he held his peace.

As the birds that winter along the Nile for a space form in the air a troop, then fly more swiftly and go in file, so all the folk that were there, turning away their faces, hastened their pace; nimble both through leanness and through goodwill. And as the man who is weary of running lets his companions

Che delle nostre certo non avvenne. 60
 E qual più a guardar oltre si mette,^h
 Non vede più dall' uno all' altro stilo.
 E quasi contentato si tacette.
 Come gli augei che vernan lungo il Nilo,
 Alcuna volta in l' aer fanno schiera,ⁱ
 Poi volan più in fretta e vanno in filo;
 Così tutta la gente che lì era,
 Volgendo il viso raffrettò suo passo,
 E per magrezza e per voler leggiera.^k
 E come l' uom che di trottare è lasso, 70
 Lascia andar li compagni, e sì passeggia

alii gradir

^h *piu a gradir* (alt. fr. *guardar*) Gg.; *piu a riguardar* Cass.; *a rig.* *piu* 124; *più a rig.* W.; *piu a gradir* 3 Ald.

ⁱ *nel aere f. riga* Cass.; *di se f. s. Benv.*; *di lor* Ald. Land. Bi.

^k *per volar* Cass. Gg. (alt.) 124.

⁶⁰ Cf. Conv. i. 5: che non avviene del volgare. Or as *fare di* xxvi. 124.

^{61, 62} See note at the end of this Canto.

⁶⁴ Cf. xxvi. 43, Inf. v. 46. Dante's images from birds have been often noticed.

⁷¹ reading *sì passeggia*. Bianchi reads *sì*, as in *mi viva*, l. 76.

go, and so paces on until the panting of his chest is allayed, thus Forese let the holy flock pass on, and came along behind with me, saying: 'When will it come to pass that I see thee again?' 'I know not,' I answered him, 'how long I have to live; but never will my return be so speedy that I shall not be with my wish sooner at the shore; because the place where I was put to live from day to day grows thinner of good, and seems ordained to woful ruin.' 'Go now thy way,' said he, 'for him who has therefore

Fin che si sfoghi l' affollar del casso;¹
 Sì lasciò trapassar la santa greggia
 Forese, e dietro meco sen veniva
 Dicendo: Quando fia ch' i' ti riveggia?
 Non so, risposi lui, quant' io mi viva;
 Ma già non fia il tornar mio tanto tosto,
 Ch' io non sia col voler prima alla riva.
 Perocchè il luogo, u' fui a viver posto,
 Di giorno in giorno più di ben si spolpa, 80
 E a trista ruina par disposto.
 Or va, diss' ei, chè quei che più n' ha colpa,

¹ *sfoga Cass. 14; finchessi sfoga Gg.*

⁷² **casso.** So Inf. xii. 122 and elsewhere. I have used 'chest,' from the similarity of idiom; but it must not be supposed that 'capsa' and 'cista' are etymologically akin.

⁷⁹⁻⁸¹ It is curious that Padre d' Aquino omits these three lines from his Latin version, his usual practice only in regard to attacks on the Pope.

⁸² **or va.** So viii. 133. **quei.** The commentators agree in understanding the reference to be to Corso Donati, though Forese's prophecy does not strictly agree with the manner of his death as related by Villani (viii. 96) and others, who say that having fled from the city he was captured by some Catalonian mercenaries, and chancing to fall, either by accident or design, from his horse, was killed by them. This happened in 1308. May not the language, however, be metaphorical?

most blame I see dragged at the tail of a beast toward the valley where there is no forgiveness. The beast at every step goes faster, ever increasing until it strikes him, and leaves the body vilely undone. Those wheels' (and he directed his eyes to the heaven) 'have not far to turn for that to become clear to thee which my speech cannot make clearer. Now do thou stay behind, for time is so precious in this realm, that I lose too much going thus level with thee.'

As issues sometimes at a gallop a horseman from a troop which rides, and goes to do himself honour in the first assault, so departed he from us with greater strides; and

Vegg' io a coda d' una bestia tratto
 In ver la valle ove mai non si scolpa.
 La bestia ad ogni passo va più ratto,
 Crescendo sempre fin ch' ella il percuote,
 E lascia il corpo vilmente disfatto.
 Non hanno molto a volger quelle ruote,
 E drizzò gli occhi al ciel, che ti fia chiaro ^m
 Ciò che il mio dir più dichiarar non puote. 90
 Tu ti rimani omai, chè il tempo è caro
 In questo regno sì, ch' io perdo troppo
 Venendo teco sì a paro a paro.
 Qual' esce alcuna volta di galoppo
 Lo cavalier di schiera che cavalchi,
 E va per farsi onor del primo intoppo;
 Tal si partì da noi con maggior valchi:

^m *ch' a te fia Gg. Ald. Bi.*

Thus the **bestia** would be the popular party, of which Corso once thought himself the head, while he was really being dragged on by them, and by which he was ultimately destroyed. Cf. *belva*, xiv. 62.

⁹⁴ As happened actually at Campaldino, notes Philaethes.

I remained in the way with but the two, who were so great commanders of the world. And when he was gone so far in front of us that my eyes went in pursuit of him in like manner as my mind of his words, there appeared to me the laden and living branches of another apple tree, and not very far off, seeing that I had but then turned that way. I saw folk beneath it raise their hands and cry I know not what, towards the leaves ; like children that pray, eager and unsatisfied, and he who is prayed answers not ; but to make their wish be very keen holds their desire on high,

Ed io rimasi in via con esso i due,¹¹
 Che fur del mondo sì gran marescalchi.
 E quando innanzi a noi sì entrato fue, 100
 Che gli occhi miei si fero a lui seguaci,
 Come la mente alle parole sue,
 Parvermi i rami gravidi e vivaci
 D' un altro pomo, e non molto lontani,
 Per esser pure allora volto in laci.
 Vidi gente sott' esso alzar le mani,
 E gridar non so che verso le fronde,
 Quasi bramosi fantolini e vani,^o
 Che pregano, e il pregato non risponde ;
 Ma per fare esser ben lor voglia acuta, 110
 Tien alto lor disio, e nol nasconde.

¹¹ *con essi due Gg.*

^o *f. o nani Gg.*

⁹⁹ Notice **marescalchi**, 'marshals,' already in its modern use of high officers.

¹⁰¹ I.e. his form was no clearer to my eyes than his words to my mind.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. because we had only just turned the shoulder of the mountain sufficiently to come in sight of it. The curve would by this time have become sharp.

and hides it not. Then they departed, as if undeceived ; and right so came we to the great tree, which rejects so many prayers and tears. 'Pass ye on further without drawing near ; a tree there is higher up which was eaten of by Eve, and this plant was raised from it.' Thus among the branches some one spake ; wherefore Virgil, and Statius, and I, drawing close together, went further on the side where is the rise. 'Bethink ye,' it said, 'of the accursed ones formed in the clouds, who, when full fed, fought against Theseus with their twofold breasts ; and of the Hebrews, who at the drinking showed themselves weak, so that Gideon would not have them for companions when he

Poi si partì sì come riceduta :

E noi venimmo al grande arbore adesso,

Che tanti prieghi e lagrime rifiuta.

Trapassate oltre senza farvi presso :

Legno è più su che fu morso da Eva,

E questa pianta si levò da esso.

Sì tra le frasche non so chi diceva :

Per che Virgilio e Stazio ed io ristretti

Oltre andavam dal lato che si leva.

120

Ricordivi, dicea, dei maladetti

Nei nuvoli formati, che satolli

Teseo combatterè coi doppj petti :

E degli Ebrei ch' al ber si mostrar molli,

Che non gli volle Gedeon compagni,^p

^p *Perche non v' ebbe Cass. 1234 Ald. ; non gli ebbe Bi. ; no' i volle W.*

¹¹⁶ The tree of knowledge, Canto xxxii.

¹²⁰ I.e. between the tree and the rock.

¹²¹ The Centaurs, born of Ixion and a cloud. The allusion is to their fight 'super mero' with the Lapithae and Theseus, at the wedding of Pirithous. Ov. Met. xii. 210 sqq.

¹²⁵ I have followed the reading of Gg., which seems to give the best sense without spoiling the rhythm.

descended the hills toward Midian.' So skirting one of the two edges we passed, hearing faults of gluttony, erewhile followed by unhappy gains. Then, spreading out again over the solitary road, full a thousand paces and more we bore ourselves further, each contemplating without a word. 'Whereof go ye so in thought, ye lone three?' a sudden voice said; whereat I started, as do beasts affrighted and timid. I raised my head to see who it was, and never was seen in furnace glass or metal so shining and ruddy as I saw one who was saying: 'If it pleases you to mount upward, here it behoves to turn; this way he goes who would go for his peace.' His aspect had taken away my sight; wherefore I

Quando inver Madian discese i colli.^q
 Sì accostati all' un dei duo vivagni,
 Passammo udendo colpe della gola
 Seguite già da miseri guadagni.
 Poi rallargati per la strada sola, 130
 Ben mille passi e più ci portammo oltre,^r
 Contemplando ciascun senza parola.
 Che andate pensando sì voi sol tre?
 Subita voce disse: ond' io mi scossi,
 Come fan bestie spaventate e poltre.
 Drizzai la testa per veder chi fossi:
 E giammai non si videro in fornace
 Vetri o metalli sì lucenti e rossi,
 Com' io vidi un che dicea: S' a voi piace
 Montare in su, qui si convien dar volta; 140
 Quinci si va chi vuole andar per pace.^s
 L' aspetto suo m' avea la vista tolta:

^q *distese Gg.* 1234.

^r *ci portar Gg. Cass. W.*

^s *montare in p. Gg.*

turned back to my teachers, like a man who goes according as he hears. And as, a herald of the dawn, the breeze of May stirs and smells sweet, all impregnate with the grass and with the flowers; so felt I a wind touch me amid the forehead, and well I heard the plumes move that made me perceive the fragrance of ambrosia; and I heard say: 'Blessed are they whom so great grace illumines, that the love of taste makes not too great desire smoke in their breasts; hungering always for all that is righteous.'

Perch' io mi volsi indietro ai miei dottori
 Com' uom che va secondo ch' egli ascolta.
 E quale, annunziatrice degli albori,
 L' aura di Maggio muovesi ed olezza,
 Tutta impregnata dall' erba e dai fiori,
 Tal mi senti' un vento dar per mezza
 La fronte: e ben senti' muover la piuma
 Che fe' sentir d' ambrosia l' orezza: 150
 E senti' dir: Beati cui alluma
 Tanto di grazia, che l' amor del gusto
 Nel petto lor troppo disir non fuma,
 Esuriendo sempre quanto è giusto.

¹⁴⁸ Compare with this the passage from the third circle, xvii. 67, and see note to xxii. 5.

^{151, 153} Bianchi notes the contrast between **alluma** and **fuma**.

¹⁵⁴ I.e. reserving their hunger for righteousness, not for bodily food. Not, I think, 'hungering so far as is right.' Cf. S. T. i. 2. Q. 69. A. 3: sicut Ambrosius dicit: pertinet esuries ad justitiam, quia qui esurit compatitur, et compatiendo largitur.

NOTE TO LINES 61, 62.

'Luogo oscurissimo,' says Blanc (in his Dictionary, s.v. **gradire**), and, it may be added, almost certainly corrupt. In fact the whole of

this passage, from l. 52 onwards, has, as may be seen from the notes to ll. 53 and 57, puzzled the commentators terribly. Pietro di Dante passes it almost without notice; Benvenuto is only just better than the 'quasi omnes,' who, as he tells us, say 'quod per dictatorem debet intelligi Tullius summus dictator et orator' (!); Landino makes good enough sense, but one hardly to be extracted from the words, and the moderns have mostly followed him. Setting aside slight differences of arrangement, there are two readings of l. 61, both of nearly equal authority and both equally difficult to interpret satisfactorily. These are '**qual più a gradir**,' and '**qual più a guardar**' or '**riguardar**.' In two of the three MSS. at Cambridge, each of these readings finds one supporter, while the third and best, that which I have called 'Gg.,' having originally contained **aguardar**, now shows an alteration in a hand not much later to **agrardir** (sic). Codex Cassinensis halts in much the same way, giving **riguardar** in the line, with the variant **gradir** written over it. Some have **gridar**; among them Benv., who attempts no explanation. Of the early editions, 3, Aldus, and others, have **gradir** (Vindelin da Spira having also *altrui* for *oltre*), and are followed by Lombardi, Blanc, Philalethes (giving, however, a different rendering), and Fraticelli; while Bianchi, Scartazzini, and Witte, after 124, and Landino, prefer **guardar** or **riguardar**. Those who take **gradire**, mostly explain, with Lombardi, 'he who goes beyond the leader in the wish to give more pleasure'; but Philalethes, following Tommaseo, understands **gradire** as = Lat. *gradior*. There is, however, no authority for the latter rendering, and not much for the former, **gradire** being usually 'to accept,' not 'to give pleasure.' If we read **riguardar**, Bianchi's interpretation is as good as any: 'Chiunque si pone a riguardare più a dentro, chi approfondisce coll' intelletto i vostri componimenti.' Either of these, however, has very little connexion with what has gone before; but the main difficulty is in the next line. There is, as far as I know, no variety of reading here, nor, from Landino downwards, much difference of interpretation. Benvenuto, Buti, and the Ottimo, give indeed various explanations, which greatly need explaining themselves; but Landino's 'Dante precede tanto, che non si può veder tutto lo spatio che è tra lui e chi riman dietro,' is intelligible enough, and most commentators since, whatever reading of the preceding line they took, have accepted the view that l. 62 means literally 'cannot see any more difference between the old style [that of artificial conceits, etc.] and the new [that of simply writing as Love prompts].' This rendering no doubt receives some confirmation from Inf. xix. 113. But granting that the words can bear it, what is the connexion of the thought? 'Now I see,' says Bonagiunta, 'wherein we of the old school failed as compared with you. I see how you

write as you feel the inspiration, and in obedience only to it; which was not our case.' Surely it is a very lame conclusion to say: 'And he who tries to please more [or to look further] does not see any other difference between the styles.' Scartazzini's suggestion of **gradire altri**, though (if **gradire** without **a** is admissible) it is somewhat supported by V.N. § xxv. (*coloro che rimano sopra altra materia*), does not, as he fondly thinks, remove the difficulties. What we want is something like the following:

'Che qual pur a suo grado oltre si mette
Non viene più dall' uno all' altro stilo.'

I.e. 'For whoso, merely at his own pleasure, sets himself beyond (does not follow) the *dittator* has no chance of arriving at the new and improved style.' This will, I think, be found to complete, pretty satisfactorily, the thought expressed by Bonagiunta; and the departure from either of the received readings is, letter for letter, very small. 'Vade' would be preferable to 'viene,' if there were any instance of such a form, which I doubt. The suggestion of **a suo grado** is in agreement with the use on the part of the Cassinese commentator (though his note is very confused) of such phrases as 'suo motu,' 'ad libitum'; and even Vellutello's 'si mette a *volersi* avanzare' looks as if there was some traditional interpretation pointing to this or a similar reading.

Of course, without some MS. authority, my reading must remain conjectural, and as such I could not venture to put it outright in the text; but I feel almost certain that it, or something like it, was what Dante wrote.

It should be added that of the best-known English translations, one (Cary) has

He that seeks a grace beyond
Sees not the distance parts one style from other;

and the other (Longfellow):

And he who sets himself to go beyond,
No difference sees from one style to another;

both, as it will be seen, ignoring the second *più*.

CANTO XXV

ARGUMENT

As they proceed, Statius, taking occasion from Dante's question how hunger can be felt where there is no body, expounds the nature of the soul, from its first origin in the embryo, and shows how it forms to itself a spiritual body after the other is dead. They reach the seventh circle, where the sin of lust is purged, and hear the souls singing amid a great fire, and commemorating examples of chastity.

It was an hour from which the ascent brooked not a cripple,
for the Sun had left to the Bull and Night to the Scorpion

ORA era onde il salir non volea storpio,
Chè il Sole avea lo cerchio di merigge
Lasciato al Tauro, e la notte allo Scorpio.

¹ **onde** appears to have most authority; though Bianchi and some others read **che**. Blanc says 'von welcher aus' in his *Erklärungen*, but 'e perciò' in his *Dict.* The last, however, requires an awkward parenthesis between **ora** and its relative (as on this construction it must be) **che**, and we should expect l' **ora**.

^{2, 3} Aries, in which the Sun was, had passed the meridian, and Taurus was on it, which would make the time about 2 P.M. **la notte**, as in ii. 4 and Inf. xxiv. 3, means that part of the heavens which is opposite to the Sun. This would be now in Libra, and Libra would be wholly past the meridian, its place being taken by Scorpio (the sign). This would now be culminating on the opposite side of the earth. Cf. xviii. 79.

the meridian circle ; wherefore as does the man who stays him not, but goes upon his way, whatever may appear to him, if prick of business goads him, thus entered we through the passage, one before another taking the stair, that through its narrowness uncouples those who mount. And as the young stork that lifts its wing through wish to fly, and attempts not to leave the nest, and lets it drop, such was I with will of asking kindled and quenched, coming at last to the action which he does who makes ready to speak. For all that our going was quick, my sweet

Per che, come fa l' uom che non s' affigge,
 Ma vassi alla via sua, checchè gli appaia,
 Se di bisogna stimolo il trafigge ;
 Così entrammo noi per la callaia,
 Uno anzi all' altro prendendo la scala,
 Che per artezza i salitor dispaia.
 E quale il cicognin che leva l' ala 10
 Per voglia di volare, e non s' attenda
 D' abbandonar lo nido, e giù la cala ;
 Tal era io con voglia accesa e spenta
 Di dimandar, venendo infino all' atto
 Che fa colui ch' a dicer s' argomenta.
 Non lasciò per l' andar che fosse ratto,

⁶ **bisogno**, 'necessity,' is the usual reading ; but **bisogna** seems to give a better sense. There is of course no difference originally between the two words ; and the idea of a man who has an urgent business on hand seems more in Dante's style.

⁸ Here, and in xxvi. 1, I have followed a variant given by Witte, as *innanzi* is seldom a preposition of place.

⁹ **dispaia**. Cf. xii. 1.

¹⁵ **s' argomenta**, 'equips himself.' See note to ii. 31.

¹⁶ There is some difference of opinion as to the meaning of **non lasciò**. Landino takes it as 'did not overlook' ('s' accorse') ; so

Father missed it not, but said: 'Discharge the bow of thy speech, which thou hast drawn even to the iron.' Then securely I opened my mouth, and began: 'How can one grow lean there where the need of nourishment touches not?' 'If thou hadst called to mind how Meleager was consumed in the consuming of a firebrand, this would not be,' said he, 'so harsh to thee; and if thou hadst thought

Lo dolce Padre mio, ma disse: Scocca
 L' arco del dir, che infino al ferro hai tratto.
 Allor sicuramente aprii la bocca,
 E cominciai: Come si può far magro, 20
 Là dove l' uopo di nutrir non tocca?
 Se t' ammentassi come Meleagro
 Si consumò al consumar d' un stizzo,
 Non fora, disse, questo a te sì agro.

Witte, 'bemerkt' es'; Vellutello, 'non lassò di dir,' and so Bianchi; Philaethes translates 'nicht schwieg,' which looks as if he agreed with the last. **per—ratto.** The subj. *fosse* shows that **che** is not a relative, but to be taken with **per**, Diez iii. 333; *perchè* as in xiv. 55, or xvii. 15.

¹⁷ **scoccare** properly applies rather to the arrow than the bow; but it seems to be used in as many ways as our 'discharge.' In vi. 130, the arrow 'socca'; here the man 'socca' the bow; in xxxi. 16, the bow 'socca.' **ferro**=the arrow-head. Others understand it of the catch to which in a crossbow the string is drawn, and which is let go by the trigger.

²² The story of Meleager is told in Ov. Met. viii. 260 sqq. The point of this and the following allusion seems merely to be that we have instances in other cases of physical changes in an object, real or apparent, caused by the changes in another object without physical communication between the two; but the apparent good faith in which the legend of Meleager is quoted, as equally good evidence on a scientific question with a matter of everyday observation, is very curious.

²³ **consumar.** This form, arising from a confusion with *consummar* accounts for the French *consommer*.

²⁴ **agro.** Cf. 'acerbo,' Par. xxx. 79.

how at your moving moves within the mirror your image, that which appears hard would seem to thee easy. But in order that thou mayest set thyself at ease within thy wish, lo here is Statius, and I call and pray him that he be now healer of thy wounds.' 'If I disclose to him the eternal view,' answered Statius, 'where thou art present, let it excuse me that I cannot to thee make denial.'

Then he began: 'If thy mind, my son, looks at and receives my words, they will be a light to thee for the "how"'

E se pensassi come al vostro guizzo
 Guizza dentro allo specchio vostra image,^a
 Ciò che par duro ti parrebbe vizzo.
 Ma perchè dentro a tuo voler t' adage,
 Ecco qui Stazio: ed io lui chiamo e prego,
 Che sia or sanator delle tue piage. 30
 Se la veduta eterna gli dislego,^b
 Rispose Stazio, là dove tu sie,
 Discolpi me non potert' io far niego.
 Poi cominciò: Se le parole mie,^c
 Figlio, la mente tua guarda e riceve,
 Lume ti fieno al come che tu die.

^a *Drizza Cass.*

^b *vendetta Ald. Land.; disflego Cass.; dispiego Bi.* ^c *Che poi Cass.*

³¹ Several of the earlier edd. read **vendetta**. Philaethes follows them, and Blanc, in his *Erklärungen*, though in his *Dict.* he seems uncertain. On the whole it seems to have less authority than **veduta**, which Bianchi adopts (reading also **dispiego**, after the *Nidobeatina*), though the objection that the punishment of Purgatory is not eternal, does not seem of much weight; for we may understand **eterna** either as some do *αἰώνιος* in *N. T.*, viz. as 'affecting the eternal part of man,' or else 'eternally ordained' (cf. vi. 121). 'La divina giustizia' Land. Vell. The reading **interna**, which has been suggested, makes good sense, but is unsupported.

18 ³⁶ **il come**. So 'il quia,' iii. 37. Diez iii. 289.

which thou sayest. A perfected blood, which is never drunk by the thirsty veins, and remains like food which you remove from table, takes in the heart a virtue informative in regard to all human members, as that does which, to become these, runs its course through the veins. Digested yet again, it descends to that part whereof it is more seemly to be silent than to speak, and thence afterwards it trickles upon another's blood in the natural vessel. There the one and the other meet together, the one by

Sangue perfetto, che mai non si beve
 Dall' assetate vene, e si rimane
 Quasi alimento che di mensa leve,
 Prende nel cuore a tutte membra umane, 40
 Virtute informativa, come quello
 Ch' a farsi quelle per le vene vane.
 Ancor digesto scende ov' è più bello
 Tacer che dire : e quindi poscia geme
 Sovr' altrui sangue in natural vasello.
 Ivi s' accoglie l' uno e l' altro insieme,^d

^d *in seme Ald. Land.*

³⁷ The passage which follows, and which seems to be modelled on Aen. vi. 724 sqq., should be compared with Conv. iv. 21. The doctrines set forth as far as l. 60 follow very closely the conclusions of Aristotle in Books i. and ii. of the *De Gen. An.* I have given at the end of this Canto the passages which Dante has more directly imitated, both from that treatise and from the *De Anima*. The text is so clear that they are hardly required to elucidate it, and they would probably not be interesting to all readers.

³⁹ *leve*. For this use of the second person, see Diez iii. 284. The plural is more common.

⁴² *vene vane*. Dante is rather fond of these verbal jingles. Cf. xxii. 54, Inf. i. 36, etc. See Fanfani, *Vocab. dell' uso Toscano*, s. v. *Bisticcio*.

⁴⁶ The reading *in seme* is directly opposed to Aristotle's opinion, τὸ θῆλυ οὐ συμβάλλεται σπέρμα εἰς τὴν γένεσιν.—Gen. An. i. 19, 15.

disposition passive, the other active, through the perfect place whence it is expressed ; and with that in union it begins to operate, first by coagulating, and then quickens that which for its material it caused to grow solid. The active virtue having become soul, like that of a plant, differing in this only, that this is on the way, and that has already arrived, works thereafter in such degree that motion and sense appear as in a sea-fungus ; and at that point it

L' un disposto a patire e l' altro a fare,
 Per lo perfetto luogo onde si preme :
 E giunto lui comincia ad operare,
 Coagulando prima, e poi avviva 50
 Ciò che per sua materia fe constare.^e
 Anima fatta la virtute attiva,^f
 Qual d' una pianta, in tanto differente,
 Che quest' è in via, e quella è già a riva,
 Tanto ovra poi, che già si muove e sente,
 Come fungo marino : ed ivi imprende

^e *gestare Ald. ; sostare Benv.* ^f *L' anima fatta per v. a. Gg.*

⁴⁸ **lo perfetto luogo.** It seems best to understand this of the heart, but other interpretations are given.

⁴⁹ **lui=altrui sangue.** It seems better to regard the construction as a dative absolute, like *latrando lui* in Inf. xxxii. 105 (Diez iii. 247), than to construe it with Bianchi as 'congiunto il sangue virile al femmineo.'

⁵¹ Most of the older edd. read **gestare** ; but **constare**, 'to curdle,' is evidently required to render the *συνίστασθαι* of Aristotle. Gen. An. ii. 4, 29, etc.

⁵⁴ 'One has reached its full development with the acquirement of life, the other has yet to receive reason.' **a riva** ; hence *arrivare*.

⁵⁶ **fungo marino** ; i.e. a zoophyte. Was this suggested by some misunderstanding of οὐδὲν ἦτρον τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰ κνήματα τῶν ζώων ζῆ τῶν φυτῶν ?

takes in hand to make organs for the faculties whereof it is the seed. Now is displayed, my son, now is put forth the virtue which has its being from the heart of the begetter, where nature designs all members. But how from an animal it becomes a speaking being thou seest not yet; this is the point that once made a wiser than thou go astray, so that by his teaching he made the potential intellect separate from the soul, because he saw no organ appropriated by it.

Ad organar le posse ond' è semente.
 Or si spiega, figliuolo, or si distende ^g
 La virtù ch' è dal cuor del generante,
 Dove natura a tutte membra intende. 60
 Ma come d' animal divenga fante,
 Non vedi tu ancor : quest' è tal punto
 Che più savio di te già fece errante ;
 Sì che per sua dottrina fe disgiuntò
 Dall' anima il possibile intelletto,
 Perchè da lui non vide organo assunto.

^g *piega Cass. Ald.*

⁶³ **più savio di te.** This is generally understood to refer to Averroes; but, as M. Renan points out, it was not the *intellectus possibilis* but the *intellectus agens*, which he held to be one and indivisible for all men. See also Hallam, Lit. of Eur. Part I. chap. iii. § 86. M. Renan, however, considers (Averroes, Part II. chap. ii.) that Dante was misled by Aquinas, who appears to have misunderstood the philosopher of Cordova, who himself probably misunderstood Aristotle. The passages on which he founds his doctrine of the unity of the active intellect, and as a necessary consequence, its separateness from the soul, a doctrine which, of course, is inconsistent with personal immortality, and as such was fiercely combated by Albert and Aquinas, and subsequently anathematised by the Church, would seem to be De Anima iii. 4, 5. In the latter chapter Aristotle distinctly says that it is the active intellect which is χωριστὸς καὶ ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀμύγης τῇ οὐσίᾳ ὧν ἐνεργεῖα, while the παθητικὸς νοῦς is perishable. Here, as elsewhere (e.g. De An. ii. 4, Gen.

Open thy breast to the truth which is coming, and know that so soon as in the embryo the fitting of the brain is perfected, the first Mover turns him to it, joying over such art of nature, and breathes a new spirit replete with virtue, which draws into its own substance that which it finds active there, and makes of itself one single soul, which lives, and feels, and revolves within itself. And that thou mayest the less wonder at my speech, look at the heat of the Sun which becomes wine, joined to the moisture which

Apri alla verità che viene il petto,
 E sappi, che sì tosto come al feto
 L' articular del cerebro è perfetto,
 Lo Motor primo a lui si volge lieto 70
 Sovra tanta arte di natura, e spira
 Spirito nuovo di virtù repleto,
 Che ciò che trova attivo quivi tira
 In sua sustanzia, e fassi un' alma sola,
 Che vive e sente, e sè in sè rigira.
 E perchè meno ammiri la parola,
 Guarda il calor del Sol che si fa vino,

An. ii. 1) more explicitly, Aristotle declares against the immortality of the individual; and I can feel little doubt that the Cassinese postulator is right in understanding the **più savio di te** to be Aristotle. See also line 70; and note of Philalethes here. The *intellectus agens* stands to the *intellectus possibilis* (called also *passibilis*) in much the same relation as sensation to sense. 'Vis ultima in homine est . . . esse apprehensivum per intellectum possibilem, quod . . . nulli ab homine alio competit,' De Mon. i. 4.

⁷⁰ **lieto**. Cf. xvi. 89, Par. xiii. 54. **lo Motor primo**. With Aristotle the ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως resides in the male parent; here Christian doctrine parts company with him.

⁷¹ Cf. Genesis ii. 7. Thus every individual has his own soul: and of this the intellect is a faculty, and not something separate from the individual soul.

⁷⁴ **un' alma sola**. Cf. iv. 5, 6.

percolates from the vine-plant. And when Lachesis has no more thread it looses itself from the flesh, and virtually bears away with it both the human and the divine; the other powers all mute—memory, intelligence, and will, in act far keener than before. Without resting, of itself it falls in wondrous wise to one of the shores; here it first

Giunto all' umor che dalla vite cola.
 E quando Lachesis non ha più lino,^h
 Solvesi dalla carne, ed in virtute 80
 Ne porta seco e l' umano e il divino :
 L' altre potenzie tutte quante mute,ⁱ
 Memoria intelligenza e voluntade
 In atto molto più che prima acute.
 Senza restarsi, per sè stessa cade
 Mirabilmente all' una delle rive :
 Quivi conosce prima le sue strade.

^h Quando L. . . . piu del lino Cass. Gg. Land.

ⁱ quasi m. Gg.

⁸¹ Bianchi puts a full stop at the end of this line, apparently understanding *divengono*, or some such word, after **memoria**, etc. in l. 83. It seems, however, best to understand the clauses of the next three lines as explanatory of this line. **umano**, the senses and passions=**l' altre potenzie**; **divino**, the intellect, comprising **memoria intelligenza e voluntade**. S. T. i. Q. 8. A. 77: Quaedam potentiae comparantur ad animam solum, sicut ad subjectum; ut intellectus et voluntas; et hujusmodi potentiae necesse est quod maneant in anima corpore destructo. Quaedam vero potentiae sunt in conjuncto sicut in subjecto: sicut omnes potentiae sensitivae partis et nutritivae. Destructo autem subjecto non potest accidens remanere, unde corrupto conjuncto non manent hujusmodi potentiae actu: sed virtute tantum manent in anima. Aristotle, De An. ii. 2, holds that it is only the *νοῦς* and the *θεωρητικὴ δύναμις* which *ἐνδέχεται χωρῆσθαι, καθάπερ τὸ αἰδίον τοῦ φθαρτοῦ*.

⁸⁶ **rive**, i.e. of Acheron (Inf. iii. 78), or Tiber (ii. 100-105). This is not the doctrine of Aquinas, but of Origen. See Ozanam, Dante, Part II. chap. iii.

knows its road. As soon as place there bounds it, the formative virtue rays around, in such manner and quantity as it lives in the members. And as the air, when it is very rainy, through another's ray which is reflected in it, shows itself adorned with divers colours, thus here the neighbouring air puts itself in that form which the soul that has remained by its virtue stamps upon it; and then, like to the flame which goes after the fire wheresoever it shifts, its new form follows the spirit. Because from this it has hereafter

Tosto che luogo lì la circonscrive,^k
 La virtù informativa raggia intorno,
 Così e quanto nelle membra vive. 90
 E come l' aere, quand' è ben piorno,^l
 Per l' altrui raggio che in sè si riflette,
 Di diversi color si mostra adorno,^m
 Così l' aer vicin quivi si mette
 In quella forma, che in lui suggella "
 Virtualmente l' alma che ristette.^o
 E simigliante poi alla fiammella, .
 Che segue il fuoco là 'vunque si muta,
 Segue allo spirto sua forma novella.^p
 Perocchè quindi ha poscia sua paruta, 100

^k *il luogo Cass. ; lì la certo scr. 1245.*

^l *come quando l' aere è ben piu orno Gg.*

^m *diventa adorno Cass.*

ⁿ *si suggella Cass. Gg.*

^o *all' alma Cass. 124.*

^p *sp. suo Gg.*

⁸⁸ sqq. This is the doctrine of Aquinas, *Summa contra Gentiles* iv. 79. (Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*, § 101. His account of the philosophy of Aquinas and Averroes may be read with advantage, together with all this passage. See also Ozanam, *Dante*, l.c.)

⁹¹ *Ar. Meteor. iii. 4.*

⁹² *altrui* : of the Sun.

⁹⁵ *forma* appears to have here its ordinary, not its technical, sense.

⁹⁶ *virtualmente*. So *in virtute*, l. 80.

its appearance, it is called a shade ; and from this it gives each sense, even to the sight, its own organ. From this we speak, and from this we laugh ; from this we make the tears and the sighs which thou mayest have heard over the mountain. According as the desires and the other emotions fix us, the shade takes its shape ; and this is the occasion of that whereof thou wonderest.'

And by this time we were come to the last turning, and had wheeled to the right hand, and were intent on another

È chiamata ombra : e quindi organa poi
 Ciascun sentire, infino alla veduta.
 Quindi parliamo, e quindi ridiam noi :
 Quindi facciam le lagrime e i sospiri,
 Che per lo monte aver sentiti puoi.
 Secondo che ci affigono i disiri ^q
 E gli altri affetti, l' ombra si figura :^r
 E questa è la cagion di che tu ammiri.
 E già venuto all' ultima tortura
 S' era per noi, e volto alla man destra, 110
 Ed eravamo attenti ad altra cura.

^q *affigon* 124 *Land.* ; *transfigono* *Benv.* ; *affligon* *W.*

^r *effetti* *Cass.* 14.

¹⁰⁶ **ci affigono** seems to be the reading with most authority. It is, however, difficult to accept Blanc's view that it is intended to represent Lat. *afficiunt*. If we are to retain it, it seems best to take it in the sense of 'tie us down,' the man's character being fixed at his death, and the shade taking its appearance accordingly. Cf. S. T. Suppl. Q. 97. A. 3: corpus immutatur ad passionem animae. But should we not read *ci affingono*, 'fashion us'?

¹⁰⁹ Most understand **tortura** in its modern sense of 'torture,' but, as Scartazzini points out, this meaning is not found in early Italian; nor, it may be added, in Latin, though Dante may have formed it from *tortor*. But it seems safer to take it as I have done.

¹¹⁰ **volto** seems here to mean merely 'turned at a right angle': perhaps being used to avoid *torto* after **tortura**.

care. Here the bank flashes flame outwards, and the cornice breathes a blast upwards, which bends it back, and keeps it away at a distance therefrom. Wherefore it behoved us to go one by one on the open side, and I feared the fire on this hand, and on that, to fall down. My Leader kept saying: 'Through this place needs one to keep the rein tight on the eyes, because for a little cause one might go astray.' '*Summae Deus clementiae*' in the bosom of the great heat then I heard them singing, which made me not less eager to turn. And I saw spirits going through the flame, wherefore I looked at them and at my steps, apportioning

Quivi la ripa fiamma in fuor balestra,
 E la cornice spira fiato in suso,
 Che la riflette e via da lei sequestra;
 Onde ir ne convenìa dal lato schiuso
 Ad uno ad uno: ed io temeva il fuoco
 Quinci, e quindi temea cadere giuso.^s
 Lo Duca mio dicea: Per questo loco
 Si vuol tenere agli occhi stretto il freno
 Perocch' errar potrebbesi per poco. 120
Summae Deus clementiae, nel seno
 Del grande ardore allora udi' cantando,
 Che di volger mi fe caler non meno.
 E vidi spirti per la fiamma andando:
 Perch' io guardava ai loro ed ai miei passi

^s *temeva il cader g. Ald. Bi.; temea Land.; c. di g. Gg*

¹¹⁹ Probably with allusion to St Matt. v 28.

¹²¹ The hymn at matins, containing the lines:

'Lumbos jecurque morbidum
 Flammis adure congruis.'

¹²³ **volger** here = to turn back, stop.

my view from time to time. After the end which is made to that hymn they cried aloud, '*Virum non cognosco!*' then they began the hymn again in a low voice. Having finished it, they cried again: 'Diana stayed in the wood, and drove Helice from it, for she had felt the poison of Venus.' Then they returned to their singing; then they cried on dames and husbands who were chaste, as virtuous marriage vow lays on us. And this fashion I think suffices them for all the time that the fire is burning them; with such care and with such diet it behoves that the last wound should close itself.

Compartendo la vista a quando a quando.
 Appresso il fine ch' a quell' inno fassi,
 Gridavano alto *Virum non cognosco* :
 Indi ricominciavan l' inno bassi.
 Finitolo anche gridavano : Al bosco 130
 Si tenne Diana, ed Elice caccionne,^t
 Che di Venere avea sentito il toscò.
 Indi al cantar tornavano : indi donne
 Gridavano e mariti che fur casti,
 Come virtute e matrimonio imponne.
 E questo modo credo che lor basti
 Per tutto il tempo che il fuoco gli abbrucia ;
 Con tal cura conviene e con tai pasti^u
 Che la piaga dassezzo si ricucia.

^t *Corse Ald.*

^u *Cotal Gg. Cass. 1234; convien con cotai Cass. Gg. W.*

¹²⁸ *Virum non cognosco.* St. Luke i. 34.

¹³¹ I have followed Bianchi in preferring **si tenne**, the older reading, to **corse**, as being more in agreement with Ovid's version of the story; especially "'I procul hinc" dixit,' Met. ii. 464.

¹³⁰ Blanc says **dassezzo** must be an adverb; but the Italian commentators do not seem to see the necessity. Why should it not be like 'uomo da bene' and such constructions? Cf. Petr. Tr. Am. iv. 36.

PASSAGES FROM ARISTOTLE ILLUSTRATING LINES 37-66.

³⁷ χρησίμου περιττώματος μέρος τί ἐστι τὸ σπέρμα· χρησιμώτατον δὲ τὸ ἔσχατον, καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἤδη γίνεται ἕκαστον τῶν μορίων (cf. l. 42). Gen. An. i. 28.

λέγω δὲ περίττωμα, τὸ τῆς τροφῆς ὑπόλειμμα. Ib. id.

φάνερρον ὅτι τῆς αἱματικῆς ἂν εἴη περίττωμα τροφῆς τὸ σπέρμα. Ib. 19.

⁴¹ ὅμοιον τὸ προσελθὼν πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῷ ὑπολειφθέντι. Ib. id.

^{47, 49} τό γε θῆλυ, ἢ θῆλυ, παθητικόν· τὸ δὲ ἄρρεν, ἢ ἄρρεν, ποιητικόν. Ib. 21.—τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ τὸ παθητικόν, ὅταν θίγῃσιν, εὐθὺς τὸ μὲν ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ πάσχει. ii. 4.

⁵⁰ ὅταν ἔλθῃ (sc. τὸ σπέρμα) εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν, συνίστησί τε καὶ κινεῖ τὸ περίττωμα τοῦ θήλεος τὴν αὐτὴν κίνησιν, ἥνπερ αὐτὸ τυγχάνει κινούμενον. Ib. 3. (So also ib. 4 and i. 20.)

⁵¹ αἰεὶ δὲ παρέχει τὸ μὲν θῆλυ τὴν ὕλην· τὸ δὲ ἄρρεν τὸ δημιουργοῦν. Ib. 4.

⁵² ψυχὴ ἐστὶν ἐντελέχεια ἡ πρώτη σώματος φυσικοῦ δυνάμει ζῶην ἔχοντος. De An. ii. 1.

⁵³ θρεπτικὸν δὲ λέγομεν τὸ τοιοῦτον μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς οὗ καὶ τὰ φυτὰ μετέχει. Ib. 2.—Τὴν θρεπτικὴν ψυχὴν τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰ κήματα τὰ χωριστὰ δῆλον ὅτι δυνάμει μὲν ἔχοντα θετέον, ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὶν ἢ καθάπερ τὰ χωριζόμενα τῶν κυνημάτων ἔλκει τὴν τροφήν, καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχῆς ἔργον. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντ' ἔοικε ζῆν τὰ τοιαῦτα φυτοῦ βίον. Gen. An. ii. 3.

⁶⁰ οἷον ἐκείνων ἕκαστον (sc. τῶν μερῶν) ἐνεργείᾳ τοιοῦτον τὸ σπέρμα δυνάμει. i. 19.—εἰ ἡ καρδία πρῶτον ἐν τισὶ ζώοις γίγνεται, . . . ἐκ ταύτης ἂν εἴη ἡ ἀρχή. ii. 1.—ἀρχὴ τῆς φύσεως ἡ καρδία. Ib. i. 4.

⁶¹ οὐ γὰρ ἅμα γίνεται ζῶον καὶ ἄνθρωπος. Ib. 3.

⁶⁵ ἐπεὶ δ' ὥσπερ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ φύσει, ἐστὶ τι τὸ μὲν ὕλη ἐκάστῳ γένει (τοῦτο δὲ ὁ πάντα δυνάμει ἐκείνα) ἕτερον δὲ τὸ αἴτιον καὶ ποιητικόν, τῷ ποιεῖν πάντα, . . . ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὑπάρχειν ταύτας τὰς διαφοράς. καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μὲν τοιοῦτος νοῦς τῷ πάντα γίνεσθαι, ὁ δὲ τῷ πάντα ποιεῖν . . . καὶ οὗτος ὁ νοῦς χωριστὸς . . . χωρισθεὶς δ' ἐστὶ μόνον τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ αἰδίων. οὐ μνημονεύομεν δὲ, ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἀπαθές, ὁ δὲ παθητικὸς νοῦς φθαρτός, καὶ ἄνευ τούτου οὐθὲν νοεῖ. De An. iii. 5.—ὁ ἄρα καλούμενος τῆς ψυχῆς νοῦς (λέγω δὲ νοῦν ᾧ διανοεῖται καὶ ὑπολαμβάνει ἡ ψυχὴ) οὐθὲν ἐστὶν ἐνεργείᾳ τῶν ὄντων πρὶν νοεῖν. διὸ οὐδὲ μέμχθαι εὐλογον αὐτὸν τῷ σώματι· ποῖός τις γὰρ ἂν γίγνοιτο, ψυχρὸς ἢ θερμὸς, ἢ καὶ ὄργανόν τι εἴη ὥσπερ τῷ αἰσθητικῷ· νῦν δ' οὐθὲν ἐστὶν. Ib. 4.

CANTO XXVI

ARGUMENT

They pass along the seventh circle, outside of the fire, and hear other souls recalling instances of lust. Dante talks with the poets Guido Guinicelli and Arnald Daniel, who speaks to him in the Provençal tongue.

WHILE thus we were going along the edge one before another, and the good Master kept often saying : 'Take heed ; let it profit that I instruct thee,' the Sun was striking me on the right shoulder, which already with his rays was turning all the west from the hue of the sky to a white

MENTRE che sì per l' orlo, uno anzi all' altro,^a
Ce n' andavamo, e spesso il buon Maestro
Diceva : Guarda ; giovi ch' io ti scaltro,
Feriami il Sole in su l' omero destro,
Che già raggiando tutto l' occidente
Mutava in bianco aspetto di cilestro :

^a *Mentre così Gg.*

⁴ The evening Sun is to their right ; they are therefore now going about south by west, having made nearly half the circuit of the mountain, and having, as Philalethes points out, occupied some three hours in the ascent from the sixth to the seventh circle. In the circle itself they only spend about an hour. See note xii. 81.

⁶ The sky in the neighbourhood of the Sun always looks white until

aspect, and I was making with my shadow the flame appear more ruddy, and to such token only I saw many shades as they went give heed. This was the occasion which gave them a starting-point to speak of me, and they began to say among themselves: 'That one seems not a fictitious body.' Then certain made towards me as far as they could, always with heed not to issue forth where they would not be burnt. 'O thou who goest, not through being slower, but haply of reverence, after the others, answer to me, who burn in thirst and fire; nor only to me is thy answer a need, for all these here have thereof

Ed io facea con l' ombra più rovente
 Parer la fiamma, e pure a tanto indizio
 Vidi molt' ombre andando poner mente.
 Questa fu la cagion che diede inizio 10
 Loro a parlar di me: e cominciarsi
 A dir: Colui non par corpo fittizio.
 Poi verso me, quanto potevan farsi,
 Certi si feron, sempre con riguardo
 Di non uscir dove non fossero arsi.
 O tu che vai, non per esser più tardo,
 Ma forse riverente, agli altri dopo,
 Rispondi a me, che in sete ed in fuoco ardo.
 Nè solo a me la tua risposta è uopo:
 Chè tutti questi n' hanno maggior sete, 20

close upon sunset. It would be now about five P.M.; so this is still more than an hour distant.

⁷ A well-known phenomenon, being, of course, the converse of the putting-out effect which the Sun is popularly supposed to exercise on fire.

⁸ *pur.* Cf. v. 9.

¹² *fittizio* would seem to support my suggestion *affingono* in xxv. 106.

greater thirst than of cold water Indian or Ethiop. Tell us how it is that thou makest of thyself a wall to the Sun, as if thou wert not yet entered within the net of death.' So to me spoke one of them, and I should already have declared myself if I had not been intent on another new thing which then appeared; for through the middle of the burning road came folk with their faces opposite to these, who made me wait to gaze. There I see on every side each shade make ready, and kiss one with one, without staying, content with short greeting. Thus within their brown troop one ant touches muzzle with another, perhaps

Che d' acqua fredda Indo o Etiopo.
 Dinne com' è che fai di te parete
 Al sol, come se tu non fossi ancora ^b
 Di morte entrato dentro dalla rete.
 Sì mi parlava un d' essi, ed io mi fora
 Già manifesto, s' io non fossi atteso
 Ad altra novità ch' apparse allora;
 Chè per lo mezzo del cammino acceso,
 Venne gente col viso incontro a questa, ^c
 La qual mi fece a rimirar sospeso. 30
 Lì veggio d' ogni parte farsi presta
 Ciascun' ombra, e baciarsi una con una
 Senza restar, contente a breve festa.
 Così per entro loro schiera bruna
 S' ammusca l' una con l' altra formica,

^b *Al sol pur come tu Gg.*

^c *intorno a Gg.*

²¹ I have followed the usual reading of this line, as there seems no trace of any variant; but it is hard to see how it scans. May we read *l' Indo o l' Etiopo?*

³³ *festa.* So vi. 81.

to find out their road and their fortune. As soon as they part the friendly greeting, before the first step goes beyond that point, each one toils to cry further, the new folk 'Sodom and Gomorrah!' and the other 'Pasiphae enters into the cow that the bull may hasten to her lust.' Then like cranes which should fly part to the Rhipaeae mountains and part toward the sands, these shunning the frost and those the sun, the one folk goes, the other

Forse ad espiar lor via e lor fortuna.^d
 Tosto che parton l' accoglienza amica,
 Prima che il primo passo li trascorra,
 Sopra gridar ciascuna s' affatica :
 La nuova gente : Soddoma e Gomorra,
 E l' altra : Nella vacca entra Pasife,
 Perchè il torello a sua lussuria corra.
 Poi come gru, ch' alle montagne Rife
 Volasser parte, e parte inver l' arene,
 Queste del giel, quelle del sole schife ;
 L' una gente sen va, l' altra sen viene,

40

^d *a spiar 3 Ald. Bi.*

⁴³ Cf. Lucan Phars. v. 711 :

Strymona sic gelidum, bruma pellente, relinquunt
 Poturae te, Nile, grues, primoque volatu
 Effingunt varias, casu monstrante, figuras.

Dante seems to have been struck by this image, for there are obvious reminiscences of the passage not only here and in xxiv. 64, but in Inf. v. 46 and Par. xviii. 73. The actual mention of the *cranes* is, however, confined to this place and that relating to similar sinners in Inf. v. Some commentators object to the image that the cranes fly to the north and to the south at different seasons, and all together when they do go. It is not, however, 'volano' or 'volino,' but 'volassero,' showing that the picture is purely imaginary. See Blanc, Erklärungen.

comes on its way, and they return weeping to their first chants, and to the cry which most befits them ; and there drew near again to me as before those same who had prayed me, in their lineaments intent on listening. I, who twice had seen their desire, began : ' O 'souls secure of having, whensoever it be, a state of peace, my limbs have not remained yonder rathe nor ripe, but are here with me, with their blood and with their joints. Here I am going up in order to be no longer blind ; there is a dame above who gains grace for me, wherefore I take my mortal part through your world. But, so may your greatest wish soon become satisfied in such wise that that heaven

E tornan lagrimando ai primi canti,
 Ed al gridar che più lor si conviene :
 E raccostarsi a me, come davanti,
 Essi medesmi che m' avean pregato, 50
 Attenti ad ascoltar nei lor sembianti.
 Io, che due volte avea visto lor grato,
 Incominciai : O anime sicure
 D' aver, quando che sia, di pace stato,
 Non son rimase acerbe nè mature
 Le membra mie di là, ma son qui meco,
 Col sangue suo e con le sue giunture.
 Quinci su vo per non esser più cieco :
 Donna è di sopra che n' acquista grazia,
 Perchè il mortal pel vostro mondo reco. 60
 Ma, se la vostra maggior voglia sazia
 Tosto diveгна, sì che il Ciel v' alberghi

⁵¹ *sembianti*. So xxi. III.

⁵⁹ It seems best to take *ne* (as in Par. xxiv. 28) like Lat. *nos*, in the sense of 'me,' though it may mean only 'for it,' i.e. my journey. Philalethes : 'erwirbt mir die Gnade.'

may harbour you which is full of love and spreads itself most broad; tell me, to the end that I may hereafter mark paper therewith, who are ye, and what is that crowd which goes its way thus behind your backs?' Not otherwise is stupefied and confused, and gazing grows dumb the mountaineer, when rough and savage he enters a city, than each shade did in its appearance; but after they were discharged of their astonishment, the which in lofty hearts is soon at rest: 'Happy thou, that from our borders,' began again that one which first asked me, 'art laying in store of experience for better life! The folk that comes

Ch' è pien d' amore e più ampio si spazia,
 Ditemi, acciocchè ancor carte ne verghi,
 Chi siete voi, e chi è quella turba,
 Che se ne va diretto ai vostri terghi?
 Non altrimenti stupido si turba
 Lo montanaro, e rimirando ammuta,
 Quando rozzo e salvatico s' inurba,
 Che ciascun' ombra fece in sua paruta :
 Ma poichè furon di stupore scarche,
 Lo qual negli alti cuor tosto s' attuta,
 Beato te, che delle nostre marche,
 Ricominciò colei che pria ne chiese,
 Per viver meglio esperienza imbarche !^e

70

^e *Per morir meglio Gg. 12345 W.*

⁶³ For the omission of the article before **più**, see Diez iii. 8. It is as if he had said 'il ciel più ampio che si spazia.' Cf. Inf. xv. 102, which is the regular Italian construction.

⁶⁴ So Petr. Son. cxiv.: 'Alma gentil, cui tante carte vergo.' **Vergo** lit. = to mark in lines.

⁷⁰ **fece**. See note Inf. xv. 21.

⁷³ **beato te**. Diez iii. 113.

⁷⁴ **ne** again, I think, as in line 59. Philalethes has 'uns'; but only Dante has been addressed. See line 16.

⁷⁵ **imbarche**; lit. 'take on board.'

not with us have offended in that for which once Caesar in his triumph heard them shout, "Queen!" against him. Wherefore they depart crying "Sodom!" reproaching themselves, as thou hast heard, and aid the burning by their shame. Our sin was hermaphrodite; but because we kept not human law, following like brute beasts our appetite, in our disgrace by us is mentioned, when we part, the name of her who made herself a brute in the brute-formed planks. Now thou knowest our acts and whereof we were guilty; if

La gente che non vien con noi offese
 Di ciò perchè già Cesar trionfando
 Regina contra sè chiamar s' intese :
 Però si parton Soddoma gridando,
 Rimproverando a sè, com' hai udito, 80
 E aiutàn l' arsura vergognando.
 Nostro peccato fu ermafrodito ;
 Ma perchè non servammo umana legge,
 Seguendo come bestie l' appetito,
 In obbrobrio di noi per noi si legge,
 Quando partiamci, il nome di colei
 Che s' imbestiò nell' imbestiate schegge.
 Or sai nostri atti, e di che fummo rei ;

⁸² 'Nämlich sie entfernte sich nicht von der natürlichen Vereinigung der getrennten Geschlechter, deren Symbol die Fabel vom Hermaphrodit ist.'—Philalethes. And this seems the best explanation, and moreover the only one which agrees with line 84; τὰ γὰρ θηρία παρὰ φύσιν συνουσία οὐ χρῆται. Aquinas, he adds, holds that there is a law for man (**umana legge**) higher than the law of nature, and that sexual excess, though not contrary to the latter, violates the former. Thus Pasiphae 'scheint das Symbol der angemessenen, den Menschen zum Thiere herabwürdigenden Befriedigung des natürlichen Triebes zu sein.' So Brunetto, Trésor, book ii. part i. chap. 19: est bestial chose à ensuirre trop le delit de touchier. S.T. ii. 2. Q. 154. Arts. 11, 12, also bear upon this question.

haply thou wishest to know by name who we are, there is not time to say, and I should not know. I will surely in respect of myself make thy wish less. I am Guido Guinicelli, and I purge myself already, through duly lamenting sooner than at the last.' Such as, in the sorrow of Lycurgus, two sons became at seeing again their mother, such became I, but not to so great a height, when I heard name himself of me the best father and of others mine, who ever used sweet and graceful rimes of love; and without

Se forse a nome vuoi saper chi semo,
 Tempo non è da dire, e non saprei. 90
 Farotti ben di me volere scemo:
 Son Guido Guinicelli, e già mi purgo
 Per ben dolermi prima ch' allo stremo.
 Quali nella tristizia di Licurgo
 Si fer due figli a riveder la madre,
 Tal mi fec' io, ma non a tanto insurgo,
 Quando i' udi' nomar sè stesso il padre
 Mio e degli altri miei miglior, che mai
 Rime d' amore usar dolci e leggiadre:

⁹² Guido Guinicelli of Bologna. See note to xi. 97.

⁹³ I.e. he had not delayed his repentance until the moment of death. Cf. iv. 132.

⁹⁴ When Hypsipyle 'showed Langia' (xxii. 112) she was in charge of the young son of Lycurgus, king of Nemea. The child slipped away, and was killed by a serpent. In the midst of the lamentations which followed she was recognised by her sons, who were among the Argive army, and embraced by them.—Stat. Theb. v. 720.

⁹⁵ **non a tanto insurgo**: because the fire would prevent him from embracing Guido. Of course it is literally 'I rise not so far.'

⁹⁶ **miglior** is usually taken with **miei**; but whom would Dante call his 'betters'? Such mock humility is quite contrary to his usual style. May we read 'maggior,' 'my elders'?

hearing or speech I went thoughtful, gazing at him a long space, nor, by reason of the fire, did I draw nearer thither. After I had fed full of gazing I offered myself all ready to his service, with that assurance which makes others believe. And he to me: 'Thou leavest such a trace, by that which I hear, in me, and one so clear that Lethe cannot take it away or make it dim. Yet, if thy words but now sware truly, tell me what is the reason why thou showest in thy speech and in thy look that thou holdest me dear.' And I to him: 'Your sweet sayings, which, so long as the modern use shall last, will still make precious their very ink.' 'O brother,' said he, 'he whom I distinguish for thee with my

E senza udire e dir pensoso andai 100
 Lunga fiata rimirando lui,
 Nè per lo fuoco in là più m' appressai.
 Poichè di riguardar pasciuto fui,
 Tutto m' offersi pronto al suo servizio,
 Con l' affermar che fa credere altrui.
 Ed egli a me: Tu lasci tal vestigio,
 Per quel ch' i' odo, in me, e tanto chiaro,
 Che Lete nol può torre nè far bigio.^f
 Ma se le tue parole or ver giuraro,
 Dimmi che è cagion perchè dimostri 110
 Nel dire e nel guardar d' avermi caro?
 Ed io a lui: Li dolci detti vostri
 Che, quanto durerà l' uso moderno,^g
 Faranno cari ancora i loro inchiostri.
 O frate, disse, questi ch' io ti scerno^h

^f *tor nè farlo b. W.*

^g *lo suon mod. Gg.*

^h *Fràte . . . ricerho Gg. ; O fr. . . quei ch' io mo ti 3.*

¹¹³ **uso moderno.** Cf. 'lo stil nuovo,' xxiv. 57.

¹¹⁵ Arnald Daniel, according to Nostradamus, was of Tarascon, or

finger' (and he pointed to a spirit in front) 'was a better craftsman in the mother speech. All verses of love and prose of romance he excelled; and lets the fools talk who believe that he of Limoges surpasses him. To rumour more than to the truth they turn their faces, and thus they fix their opinion before that art or reason is heard by them. Thus did many ancients with Guittone, from voice to voice

Col dito (e additò un spirto innanzi),
 Fu miglior fabbro del parlar materno :
 Versi d' amore e prose di romanzi
 Soverchiò tutti, e lascia dir gli stolti,
 Che quel di Lemosi credon ch' avanzi. 120
 A voce più ch' al ver drizzan li volti,
 E così ferman sua opinione,
 Prima ch' arte o ragion per lor s' ascolti.
 Così fer molti antichi di Guittone,

Montpelier, and died about 1189. Petrarch (Tri. Am. iv. 41) calls him 'gran maestro d' amor'; but modern critics have not formed so high a judgement of him.

¹¹⁸ **prose** is often used to denote rimed couplets; but there is no need to take it so here, any more than in V. El. ii. 6; where Dante refers to those 'qui usi sunt altissimas prosas, ut Tullium, Livium, Plinium.' Daniel is not known to have written any prose romances, which would appear to have been rare in Provençal (see V. El. i. 10), nor indeed any poems save *versi d' amor*; but the meaning is simply 'he was the best of all contemporary writers.' See for a full discussion a letter by Mr. Paget Toynbee in *Academy*, 13th April 1889.

¹²⁰ **quel di Lemosi.** Gerard of Borneuil, who was called 'the Master of the Troubadours'; 'il meglior Poeta nella lingua Provenzale, che fusse d' avanti o doppo lui.' Both he and Arnald are frequently mentioned and quoted in the De Vulg. El. See, for instance, ii. 2, where he is said 'poetasse circa rectitudinem,' and Arnald 'circa amorem.'

¹²⁴ See xxiv. 56 as to Guittone. In Vulg. El. i. 13 D. speaks of 'Guidonem aretinum, qui nunquam se ad curiale vulgare direxit'; and in ii. 6: 'Desistant ergo ignorantiae sectatores Guidonem aretinum

giving him only the prize, until the truth prevailed with more persons. Now, if thou hast so ample privilege that it be permitted thee to go to the cloister in the which Christ is abbot of the community, make to Him for me a saying of a paternoster, so far as needs for us in this world, where power of sinning is no longer ours.' Then, perhaps to give place to another after him, whom he had at hand, he disappeared through the fire, as through the water the fish going to the bottom. I made a little forward to him who

Di grido in grido pur lui dando pregio,
 Fin che l' ha vinto il ver con più persone.ⁱ
 Or se tu hai sì ampio privilegio,
 Che licito ti sia l' andare al chiostro,
 Nel quale è Cristo abate del collegio,
 Fagli per me un dir di un paternostro, 130
 Quanto bisogna a noi di questo mondo,
 Ove poter peccar non è più nostro.
 Poi forse per dar luogo altrui secondo
 Che presso avea, disparve per lo fuoco,
 Come per l' acqua il pesce andando al fondo.
 Io mi feci al mostrato innanzi un poco,

ⁱ *che 'l aiutò Gg. 3; aiutò 15; a giunto 4.*

et quosdam alios extollentes, nunquam in vocabulis atque constructione desuetos plebescere.' Petrarch mentions him twice; once (Tri. Am. iv. 33) with apparent allusion to this passage.

¹²⁶ **con più persone.** It seems better to understand this with Lombardi, as meaning 'with the majority of people,' than either with Bianchi, Philalethes, and (?) Witte, 'by reason of the greater number of better poets who have arisen,' or 'him, together with others.' I do not understand **lo** to refer exactly either to **Guittone** or to **pregio**, but rather as in Fr. *l'emporter sur*.

¹³² Cf. xi. 22.

was pointed out, and said that for his name my desire was preparing a place of thanks. He began frankly to say: 'So pleases me your courteous request that I have not power or will to hide myself from you. I am Arnald, who weep and go singing, as thou seest, my past folly, and view with joy the day which I hope for hereafter. Now

E dissi ch' al suo nome il mio desire
Apparecchiava grazioso loco.

Ei cominciò liberamente a dire :

Tan m' abelis vostre cortes deman, 140
Qu' ieu no—m puesc, ni—m veuil a vos cobrire.

Ieu sui Arnaut, que plor, e vau cantan
Coma tu ves la passada folor ;
E vei iausen lo iorn, qu' esper denan.

140 sqq. These lines are in the Provençal language. The MSS. have, as might be expected, made curious work of the words, and the early edd. of the rendering. Raynouard and Diez have both tried their hands at restoring them, but with different results. In the first three lines the differences are mostly only matters of orthography, though in l. 141 some MSS. and V. da Spira have *Chieuus*, i.e. *Qu' ieu vos*, which perhaps gives a better rhythm ; but in ll. 143, 144 the divergence is considerable. Raynouard gives 'consiros vei,' and 'E vei jauzen lo joi' ; while Diez has 'Car, sitot vei' and 'Eu vei jausen lo jour' ; 'for as soon as I see my past folly I view with joy the day.' In the last line, Raynouard, with little authority, reads 'a temprar ma dolor.' The chief question, however, is as to the reading of l. 146. Diez adheres to the usual 'al som de l' escalina.' But this causes a difficulty of scansion, unless we may also read 'Que guida vus' ; for 'vos condus,' which is sometimes found, is obviously a gloss. Raynouard, followed by Bianchi and Philalethes, prefers 'al som sens freich e sens calina,' comparing iii. 31. Blanc, in his Erklärungen, seems to accept the reading of Diez ; but in his Dictionary he pronounces for the other, with the exception that he wishes to substitute 'dol' for 'freich,' on the (rather pedantic) ground that cold plays no part in the torments of Purgatory : though indeed in iii. 31 the possibility of it seems to be suggested. However, there is some MS. authority for 'dol,' none for 'freich.' Probably the

I pray you by that goodness which is guiding you to the summit of this stair, bethink you in due season of my pain.' Then he hid himself in the fire which is refining them.

*Ara vos prec per aquella valor,
Que vos guida al som d' ese scalina,
Sovenhavus a temps de ma dolor :
Poi s' ascose nel fuoco che gli affina.*

earliest attempt at a correct editing of the lines is to be found in the MS. I call 'Gg.' This appears to have been in the first half of the fifteenth century owned, or part owned, by one 'Cola de Castillione,' who has given in the margin what he supposed to be a correct version, signing it with his name, 'Cola in provinciâ enutritus.' It should be premised that in the original MS. there are many erasures, but on the whole the readings are those of Diez. The first word of l. 143 is illegible, but the postilla is 'i.e. sicut vides.' In l. 146 we find 'al soneses (*alt. fr. som*) dell eses scalina.' Cola's emendation (my deciphering of which the late Mr. Bradshaw kindly corrected) is as follows :

'Tant mabellis vostre cortes demant
Que jeu non puesc ni vuelh a vos cubrir
Jeu suy Raynaut que plor & vac cantant
Coma tu ves la passada follor
Et vey gausent lo jorn que sperï decïavant
Aras vos prec per aquella valor
Que vos guida al som de lescalina
Sovenha vos a temps de ma dolor.'

Except in the fifth line, where Cola's ear for rhythm appears to have failed him, this is not unsatisfactory. His 'coma tu ves' is supported by two of the MSS. consulted by Herr Witte (of which, by the way, three have 'condus' in l. 146). With such good authority as this I have ventured to adopt it in my text ; otherwise, except for a letter or two and the introduction in l. 146 of *ese*, to which most of the MSS. seem to point, I have followed Diez.

CANTO XXVII

ARGUMENT

They see an angel who bids them pass through the fire in order to mount up. Dante hesitates, but is persuaded by Virgil, who speaks of Beatrice. Third sunset. They halt in the passage; and Dante falls asleep, and dreams of Rachel and Leah. Fourth sunrise. They reach the summit of the mountain, and Virgil explains that his power to guide is now at an end.

JUST as when he makes his first rays quiver there where his Maker shed His blood, Ebro falling beneath the high Scales, and the waves in Ganges being scorched by the noon, so the Sun was standing; wherefore the day was departing, when the angel of God with joy appeared to us. Outside of

Sì come quando i primi raggi vibra
Là dove il suo fattore il sangue sparse,
Cadendo Ibero sotto l' alta Libra,
E l' onde in Gange da nona riarse,^a
Sì stava il sole; onde il giorno sen giva,
Quando l' Angel di Dio lieto ci apparse.

^a *di nuovo Gg. 3; da nova 1245.*

¹ sqq. It was sunrise at Jerusalem, midnight in Spain, noon in India, and therefore sunset in Purgatory. (See note to ii. 1.)

⁴ The process by which *nones*, the ninth hour, or 3 P.M., became *noon* or midday, is explained by Dante in Conv. iv. 23.

the flame was he standing on the bank, and was singing *Beati mundo corde*, in a far more living voice than ours. Afterwards: 'Further goes not any, if first the fire bites not, ye holy souls; enter into it, and to the chant beyond be ye not deaf,' said he to us when we were near him; so that I became such, when I heard it, as is he who is put into the grave. Upwards I stretched forth my clasped hands, looking at the fire, and strongly imagining human bodies ere now seen burnt. The kind escorts turned towards me, and Virgil said to me: 'My son, here may be torment, but

Fuor della fiamma stava in su la riva,
 E cantava: *Beati mundo corde*,
 In voce assai più che la nostra viva:
 Poscia: Più non si va, se pria non morde, 10
 Anime sante, il fuoco: entrate in esso,
 Ed al cantar di là non siate sorde,
 Cì disse, come noi gli fummo presso;
 Perch' io divenni tal, quando lo intesi,
 Quale è colui che nella fossa è messo.
 In su le man commesse mi protesi,
 Guardando il fuoco, e immaginando forte
 Umani corpi già veduti accesi.
 Volsersi verso me le buone scorte:
 E Virgilio mi disse: Figliuol mio, 20
 Qui potete esser tormento, ma non morte:

¹² See l. 55. Blanc remarks that it is the only instance in which they hear and are greeted by an angel from a higher terrace. It is, however, hardly correct to speak of the point where the angel stands as a higher terrace; it is rather a part of the seventh circle, only high enough on the mountain-side to be clear of the flames. Indeed, the use of *di là* would almost seem to imply that the angel is on the hither side, between the fire and the outside of the ledge; but it may be relative only to those whom he addresses.

¹⁵ See note Inf. xix. 50.

not death. Bethink thee, bethink thee—and if I guided thee safely on even Gerion, what shall I do now, nearer to God? Believe for certain, that if within the heart of this flame thou stayedst, ay, a thousand years, it could not make thee bald of one hair. And if thou think perchance that I deceive thee, turn thee toward it, and make thyself give credence with thy hands on the skirt of thy garments. Lay down henceforth, lay down all fear: turn thee hitherward, and come on secure.’ And I yet stand still, and against my conscience. When he saw me stand quite still and unyielding, a little troubled he said: ‘See now, my son, between Beatrice and thee is this wall.’ As at the name

Ricordati, ricordati . . . e, se io
 Sovr’ esso Gerion ti guidai salvo,
 Che farò ora, presso più a Dio?^b
 Credi per certo, che se dentro all’ alvo
 Di questa fiamma stessi ben mill’ anni,
 Non ti potrebbe far d’ un capel calvo.
 E se tu credi forse ch’ io t’ inganni,
 Fatti ver lei, e fatti far credenza
 Con le tue mani al lembo de’ tuoi panni. 30
 Pon giù omai, pon giù ogni temenza:
 Volgiti in qua, e vieni oltre sicuro.
 Ed io pur fermo, e contro a coscienza.
 Quando mi vide star pur fermo e duro,
 Turbato un poco disse: Or vedi, figlio,
 Tra Beatrice e te è questo muro.

^b *or, che son più pr. Ald. Land. Bi.*

²² Notice **ti** not elided before **e**, making the break more forcible.

²³ **sovr’ esso**. See note to iv. 27. The reference is to Inf. xvii.

⁹¹ sqq.

³⁶ **Beatrice** is rarely, if ever, a word of four syllables; so that something is probably missing in this line. Should we read *Che tra*?

of Thisbe Pyramus opened his eyelids on point of death, and looked upon her, what time the mulberry became vermillion, so my obstinacy being loosened, I turned to my sage Leader, hearing the name which ever wells up in my mind. Wherefore he nodded his head, and said: 'How! wish we to stay on this side?' then he smiled, as one does on the child that yields at the apple. Then he placed himself in the fire in front of me, praying Statius that he would come behind, who hitherto through a length of road had divided us. When I was within, I would have flung myself into boiling glass to cool me, so was the burning there im-

Come al nome di Tisbe aperse il ciglio
 Piramo in su la morte, e riguardolla,
 Allor che il gelso diventò vermiglio;
 Così la mia durezza fatta solla, 40
 Mi volsi al savio Duca udendo il nome,
 Che nella mente sempre mi rampolla.
 Ond' ei crollò la testa, e disse: Come,
 Volemci star di qua? indi sorrise,
 Come al fanciul si fa ch' è vinto al pome.
 Poi dentro al fuoco innanzi mi si mise,
 Pregando Stazio che venisse retro,
 Che pria per lunga strada ci divide.
 Come fui dentro, in un bogliente vetro
 Gittato mi sarei per rinfrescarmi, 50
 Tant' era ivi lo incendio senza metro.

³⁷ Philalethes quotes Ov. Met. iv. 145: 'Ad nomen Thisbes oculos jam morte gravatos Pyramus erexit.'

^{49, 50} Notice that here, as in the first and third circles, Dante has himself to participate in the punishment (see xii. 1, 2, and xv. 145). The sins which are expiated in these cases are those which we know from the evidence of Villani and Boccaccio, as well as from his own admission (xiii. 136, xxx. 126), to have been the special defects in his character.

measurable. My sweet Father, to strengthen me, went talking only of Beatrice, saying: 'I seem already to see her eyes.' A voice guided us which was singing beyond; and we, intent only on it, came forth there where was the ascent. *Venite, benedicti Patris mei*, sounded within a light which was there such that it overcame me, and I could not gaze on it. 'The Sun is going his way,' it added, 'and the even comes; stay not, but study your pace so long as the west grows not dark.'

The way mounted straight through the rock, towards such a quarter that I took away in front of me the rays of

Lo dolce Padre mio per confortarmi,
 Pur di Beatrice ragionando andava
 Dicendo: Gli occhi suoi già veder parmi.
 Guidavaci una voce, che cantava
 Di là: e noi attenti pure a lei
 Venimmo fuor là ove si montava.
Venite, benedicti Patris mei,
 Sonò dentro ad un lume che lì era,
 Tal che mi vinse, e guardar nol potei. 60
 Lo Sol sen va, soggiunse, e vien la sera:
 Non v' arrestate, ma studiate il passo,
 Mentre che l' occidente non s' annera.
 Dritta salia la via per entro il sasso
 Verso tal parte, ch' io toglieva i raggi

⁵²⁻⁵⁴ Cf. Par. vii. 17, 18.

⁵⁸ *Venite, benedicti*, etc. St. Matt. xxv. 34. These words begin the Introit appropriate to the Wednesday in Easter Week, which day has (for liturgic purposes) now begun.

^{62, 63} Evidently with allusion to St. John xii. 35.

⁶⁵ I.e. they are now on the west side of the mountain, having made the half-circuit (cf. l. 133).

the Sun, which was already low. And of few steps did we make trial, when, through the shadow being spent, both I and my sages perceived that the Sun was set behind us. And before that in all its unmeasured parts the horizon was become of one aspect, and Night had her full distribution, each of us made of a stair a bed : for the nature of the mount broke up in us rather the power of ascending than the

Dinanzi a me del Sol ch' era già basso.
 E di pochi scaglion levammo i saggi,
 Che il Sol corcar, per l' ombra che si spense,
 Sentimmo dietro ed io e gli miei saggi.
 E pria che in tutte le sue parti immense ^c 70
 Fosse orizzonte fatto d' un aspetto,
 E notte avesse tutte sue dispense,^d
 Ciascun di noi d' un grado fece letto ;
 Chè la natura del monte ci affranse
 La possa del salir più che il diletto.

^c *Che pria Gg. ; E prima Cass.* ^d *già tutte disp. Gg.*

⁶⁶ **basso** is the older reading ; the modern edd. prefer *lasso*, which Blanc thinks more poetical. But is it not for that very reason out of place in a merely topographical passage? Cf. also xvii. 12.

⁶⁷ The use of **levare** is somewhat curious ; but compare that of *togliere*, Inf. xviii. 30. In English we use 'to pick up,' colloquially, in a very similar way.

⁷¹ For the omission of the art. before **orizzonte**, cf. *meridian*, iv. 138. The meaning is, of course, 'before the glow of sunset had faded.'

⁷² There is some difficulty about the meaning of **dispense**. Philaethes translates 'Kammern' ; but the only kind of 'chamber' denoted by **dispensa** is a pantry. Vellutello explains 'tutte le sue parti'—(does he not understand **sue** of **orizzonte**?) Benvenuto has : 'i.e. dispensationes ; quasi dicat antequam nox esset plena ubique.' On the whole Blanc's explanation seems the best ; nor is it necessary, with Bianchi, to supply *fatto*.

delight. As the goats ruminating become quiet, who have been swift and wanton on the peaks before that they were fed, silent in the shade while that the Sun is hot, watched by the herdsman, who upon his staff has propped himself, and propped tends them ; and as the shepherd, who lodges out of doors, passes the night in quiet beside his flock, watching that wild beast scatter it not ; such were we all three then, I as the goat and they as shepherds, bound on this side and on that by a high rock. Little could there appear of the outside ; but through that little I beheld the stars, both clearer and larger than their wont. So ruminat-

Quali si fanno ruminando manse

Le capre, state rapide e proterve

Sopra le cime, avanti che sien pranse,^e

Tacite all' ombra mentre che il Sol ferve,

Guardate dal pastor, che in su la verga 80

Poggiato s' è, e lor poggiato serve :^f

E quale il mandrian, che fuori alberga,

Lungo il peculio suo queto pernotta,

Guardando perchè fiera non lo sperga ;^g

Tali eravamo tutti e tre allotta,

Io come capra, ed ei come pastori,

Fasciati quinci e quindi d' alta grotta.

Poco potea parer lì del di fuori ;

Ma per quel poco vedev' io le stelle,

Di lor solere e più chiare e maggiori. 90

^e *prima che Ald. Land. Bi.*

alii poggiato

^f *e lor di posa s. Gg. Bi. W. ; di posa Cass.*

^g *non disperga Gg. ; nello sp. Cass.*

⁸¹ The reading which Bianchi and Witte adopt here, *lor di posa serve*, seems the less satisfactory. As Blanc points out, the repetition of **poggiato** is much in Dante's style.

ing, and so gazing on them, sleep took me ; the sleep which often before the fact comes to pass knows the news.

In the hour, I think, when from the east first beamed on the mount Cytherea, who with fire of love appears ever burning, I seemed in dreams to see a dame young and fair go through a plain gathering flowers ; and singing she was saying : ' Let him know, whoso inquires my name, that I am Leah, and I go moving about my fair hands to make me a garland. To delight me at the glass here I adorn myself ; but my sister Rachel never is drawn from her

Sì ruminando, e sì mirando in quelle,
 Mi prese il sonno ; il sonno che sovente
 Anzi che il fatto sia sa le novelle.^h
 Nell' ora, credo, che dell' oriente
 Prima raggiò nel monte Citerea,
 Che di fuoco d' amor par sempre ardente ;
 Giovane e bella in sogno mi pareo
 Donna vedere andar per una landa,
 Cogliendo fiori, e cantando dicea :ⁱ
 Sappia, qualunque il mio nome dimanda, 100
 Ch' io mi son Lia, e vo movendo intorno
 Le belle mani a farmi una ghirlanda.
 Per piacermi allo specchio qui m' adorno ;
 Ma mia suora Rachel mai non si smaga

^h *il fato Vell.*

ⁱ *i fiori Gg.*

⁹³ Cf. Inf. xxvi. 7.

⁹⁴ As to this and the other dreams, see note to this Canto, Appendix A.

¹⁰⁴ It is hard to find an English word to give the force of *smaga*. Philaethes is happy in having 'weichen.' Cf. xix. 20. Vell. has 'non si smarrisce.'

mirror, and sits all day. She is fain of seeing her fair eyes, as I of adorning myself with my hands; to see satisfies her, but me to work.'

And already, through the brightness before the light, which arises the more grateful to pilgrims, as on their return they lodge less far away, the shadows were fleeing on all sides, and my sleep with them; wherefore I rose up, seeing the great Masters already risen. 'That sweet apple,

Dal suo miraglio, e siede tutto giorno.
 Ell' è di suoi begli occhi veder vaga,
 Com' io dell' adornarmi con le mani :
 Lei lo vedere, e me l' ovrare appaga.^k
 E già per gli splendori antelucani,
 Che tanto ai peregrin surgon più grati, 110
 Quanto tornando albergan men lontani,^l
 Le tenebre fuggian da tutti i lati, ,
 E il sonno mio con esse; ond' io leva'mi,
 Veggendo i gran Maestri già levati.

^k *e me l' ornare Gg. 1245; ornar map. Cass.*

^l *più lontani Cass. 23 W.*

¹⁰⁶ There is a question whether we ought to read *de'* or *di*, 'fain to see with her eyes,' or 'fain of seeing her eyes.' The former makes a better parallel to *adornarmi con le mani*, but the objection to it is that such words as *vago* are rarely (*vago* itself never in D.C.) followed by a simple infinitive. Diez iii. 216. I have therefore followed Philalethes rather than Bianchi and Witte. The former says 'Das beschauliche Leben findet seine Befriedigung im Erkennen der Wahrheit welches gleichsam das Auge der Seele ist.' See also Conv. iv. 2 ad fin., which agrees with this reading.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Par. xxxi. 29.

¹¹¹ The reading taken by Witte, *più lontani*, seems to spoil the sense. The *più* has clearly slipped in from the line above. See Scartazzini's note, which seems conclusive against the reading which he adopts. See Moore, Textual Criticism.

which through so many branches the care of mortals goes seeking, to-day will set at peace thy hungerings.' Virgil toward me used such words as these, and never were there gifts which were for pleasure equal to these. Desire upon desire so came to me of being above, that at every after pace I felt my wings grow for the flight. When the whole stair was passed, and below us, and we were on the topmost step, Virgil fixed his eyes on me, and said: 'The temporal fire and the eternal hast thou seen, my son, and thou art come to a part where of myself I discern no further. I have drawn thee hither with wit and with art, henceforth

Quel dolce pome, che per tanti rami
 Cercando va la cura dei mortali,
 Oggi porrà in pace le tue fami :
 Virgilio inverso me queste cotali
 Parole usò ; e mai non furo strenne
 Che fosser di piacere a queste iguali. 120
 Tanto voler sovra voler mi venne
 Dell' esser su, ch' ad ogni passo poi
 Al volo mi sentia crescer le penne.^m
 Come la scala tutta sotto noi
 Fu corsa, e fummo in su il grado superno,
 In me ficcò Virgilio gli occhi suoi,
 E disse : Il temporal fuoco e l' eterno
 Veduto hai, figlio, e sei venuto in parte
 Ov' io per me più oltre non discerno.
 Tratto t' ho qui con ingegno e con arte ; 130

^m *Al volo mio Gg.; vuol mio Cass.*

¹²⁹ Because Virgil represents human knowledge.

¹³⁰ **ingegno ed arte.** Cf. ix. 125. 'Durch Ausbildung des speculativen und praktischen Intellects bist du hierher gelangt'—Philalethes; who also points the allusion to the contemplative and active life in the

take thine own pleasure for guide ; forth art thou of the steep ways, forth of the narrow. See there the Sun, which shines upon thy forehead ; see the young grass, the flowers, and the shrubs which here the land of itself alone brings forth. While the fair eyes with joy are coming, which with their weeping made me come to thee, thou mayest sit, and mayest go among them. Await no more my word or my sign ; free, right, and sound is thy own judgement, and it were a fault not to act according to its thought ; wherefore thee over thyself I crown and mitre.'

Lo tuo piacere omai prendi per duce ;
 Fuor sei dell' erte vie, fuor sei dell' arte.
 Vedi là il Sol, che in fronte ti riluce :
 Vedi l' erbetta, i fiori e gli arbuscelli,
 Che qui la terra sol da sè produce.ⁿ
 Mentre che vegnon lieti gli occhi belli,
 Che lagrimando a te venir mi fenno,
 Seder ti puoi, e puoi andar tra elli.
 Non aspettar mio dir più, nè mio cenno :
 Libero dritto e sano è tuo arbitrio,^o 140
 E fallo fora non fare a suo senno ;
 Perch' io te sopra te corono e mitrio.

ⁿ *quella Cass. Gg.* (alt. fr. *qui la*) *Ald. Land.* ; *questa Bi.*

^o *è tutto arb. Gg.*

seder and **andar** of l. 138. The same is also expressed by the crown and mitre. Here of course the 'wit' is that which discovers, the 'art' that which utilises the discovery.

¹⁴⁰ sqq. Cf. Conv. ii. 1 : 'Nell' uscita dell' anima del peccato, essa si è fatta santa e libera in sua podestate.'

CANTO XXVIII

ARGUMENT

Dante proceeds, followed by Virgil and Statius, through a forest wherein are birds singing and many flowers. They are stopped by a little stream, on the other side of which is a lady gathering the flowers. She explains that this is the earthly Paradise, made at the first for man ; and tells him of the nature of its soil and climate, and of the stream which flows through it.

ALREADY fain to search within and around the divine forest thick and living, which to my eyes was tempering the new day, without waiting more I left the bank, taking the level ground at gentle pace over the soil which on all sides gave sweet odours. A soft breeze, without any change in it,

VAGO già di cercar dentro e dintorno
La divina foresta spessa e viva,
Ch' agli occhi temperava il nuovo giorno,
Senza più aspettar lasciai la riva,
Prendendo la campagna lento lento
Su per lo suol che d' ogni parte oliva.
Un' aura dolce, senza mutamento
Avere in sè, mi feria per la fronte,

² Contrast this with the 'selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte' of Inf. i. 5.

⁴ *lasciai* ; notice the singular number. Dante now goes where he will, and the others follow. Cf. l. 82.

smote me on the forehead, with no heavier stroke than a gentle wind ; by reason of which the leaves, quickly trembling, were all bending towards the quarter where the holy mount cast its earliest shade ; not, however, spread from their natural uprightness so much that the birds through the tree-tops needed to leave setting all their arts in work : but with full joy chanting they received the early shadows

Non di più colpo che soave vento ;
 Per çui le fronde tremolando pronte 10
 Tutte quante piegavano alla parte,
 U' la prim' ombra gitta il santo monte ;
 Non però dal lor esser dritto sparte
 Tanto che gli augelletti per le cime
 Lasciasser d' operare ogni lor arte ;
 Ma con piena letizia l' ore prime
 Cantando ricevieno intra le foglie,

¹² That is, towards the west ; the breeze blowing from the east, with the diurnal motion of the universe (l. 103), or, as we should say, against that of the earth.

¹⁶ Witte, together with most commentators, ancient and modern, takes **ore** as *horas*. The difficulty of this is that if it is understood merely as 'the morning hour' there is no reason for the plural. Another interpretation, which Benv. seems to adopt, takes it with **cantando**, 'singing matins.' Cf. Dunbar, 'The Thistle and the Rose,' stanza I :

And lusty May, that muddir is of flouris,
 Had made the birdis to begyn thair houris
 Among the tendir odouris reid and quhyt,
 Quhois harmony to heir it was delyt.

But in this case there will be no object to **ricevieno**. Unless, therefore, we can suppose that this latter word is corrupt (Witte gives a variant *risedeano*), we must, I think, take **ore**=*auras* in the sense of 'shadows,' repeating the **prim' ombra** of l. 12. See Gloss. s.v. *aura*.

among the leaves, which were keeping a ground-bass to their strains, such as collects itself from branch to branch through the pinewood on the shore of Chiassi when Aeolus is letting Scirocco forth.

Already my slow steps had carried me so far within the ancient wood that I could no longer see back to where I entered, and lo a stream stayed my further going, which towards the left with its little waves was bending the grass that sprang upon its bank. All the waters that are in this world most pure had seemed to have in them some admixture beside that which hides naught; albeit it moves along all

Che tenevan bordone alle sue rime,
 Tal, qual di ramo in ramo si raccoglie,
 Per la pineta in sul lito di Chiassi, 20
 Quand' Eolo Scirocco fuor discioglie.
 Già m' avean trasportato i lenti passi
 Dentro all' antica selva, tanto ch' io
 Non potea rivedere ond' io m' entrassi :
 Ed ecco più andar mi tolse un rio,
 Che inver sinistra con sue picciole onde
 Piegava l' erba che in sua ripa uscìo.
 Tutte l' acque che son di qua più monde,
 Parrieno avere in sè mistura alcuna,
 Verso di quella che nulla nasconde ; 30
 Avvegna che si muova bruna bruna

¹⁸ **tenevan bordone.** So Redi. Bacco in Toscana, 408.

²⁰ **Chiassi**, i.e. Classis, the old harbour of Ravenna, the site of which is now occupied by the famous pine forest. Bocc. Day v. Nov. 8.

²⁵ Dante is going towards the east. The stream at this point is therefore flowing from south to north, having turned at right angles to its original course, which, as will appear from xxix. 12, was from east to west. It is the stream Lethe.

brown beneath the perpetual shade, which lets not sun nor moon shine ever there. With my feet I stood still, and with my eyes I passed beyond the little stream to gaze at the great variety of the fresh May flowers, and there appeared to me, just as appears suddenly a thing which turns aside through wonder every other thought, a solitary dame, who was going along singing, and selecting

Sotto l' ombra perpetua, che mai
 Raggiar non lascia sole ivi, nè luna.
 Coi piè ristetti, e con gli occhi passai ^a
 Di là dal fiumicel per ammirare
 La gran variazion dei freschi mai :
 E là m' apparve, sì com' egli appare
 Subitamente cosa che disvia
 Per maraviglia tutt' altro pensare,
 Una donna soletta, che si già

40

^a *Coi piè ristretti e c. g. v. 134 ; piè e c. g. o. ristr. 2.*

³⁶ **mai.** 'Cosi chiama il Toscano i verdi rami, che per antica consuetudine nel primo giorno di Maggio appicchiamo alle finestre.' Land.

³⁷ **egli.** For this redundant use of the pronoun, see Diez iii. 279. So in French, e.g. 'il me vient une pensée.'

⁴⁰ The name of this lady, as will appear from xxxiii. 119, is Matilda. There is much controversy as to the person meant, but the oldest commentators are nearly unanimous in identifying her with 'the great Countess' Matilda of Tuscany, the ally of Gregory VII. and benefactor of the Papal see. For a short account of her, Sir J. Stephen's *Essay on Hildebrand* may be referred to with advantage. See also Villani iv. 21. Bianchi, in objecting that Dante would not have put so ardent a partisan of the Papacy and opponent of the empire in this important post, seems to have overlooked the very similar function assigned to Cato, who was no less remarkable as an antagonist of the Caesar of his day. Dante probably was not aware how appropriately named a personage he had chosen to symbolise the active life. Matilda, Mechthilde = war-might.

flower from flower wherewith was painted all her way. 'Ah, fair dame, who at love's rays dost warm thyself, if I may believe thy lineaments, which are wont to be a witness of the heart, may will come to thee to draw forward,' said I to her, 'toward this stream, so far that I may understand that which thou singest. Thou makest me remember where and what was Proserpine, in the time when her mother lost, and she the spring.' As turns herself, with feet close to the ground and to each other, a dame who dances, and scarce puts foot before foot, she turned, over crimson and yellow flowers toward

Cantando ed iscegliendo fior da fiore,
 'Ond' era pinta tutta la sua via.
 Deh, bella Donna, ch' a raggi d' amore
 Ti scaldi, s' io vo' credere ai sembianti,
 Che soglion esser testimon del cuore,
 Vegnati voglia di trarreti avanti,^b
 Diss' io a lei, verso questa riviera,
 Tanto ch' io possa intender che tu canti.
 Tu mi fai rimembrar dove e qual era
 Proserpina nel tempo che perdette
 La madre lei, ed ella primavera. 50
 Come si volge con le piante strette
 A terra ed intra sè donna che balli,
 E piede innanzi piede a pena mette,
 Volsesi in su vermigli ed in su gialli

^b *in voglia W.; di trarti davanti Gg. 2; di traierti av. Cass.*

^{50, 51} See Ovid Met. v. 385 sqq. By **primavera** some understand the spring flowers which Proserpine let fall; but it is probably only a reminiscence of Ovid's 'perpetuum ver est.' Scheffer-Boichorst suggests Claudian, de Raptu Proserpinae ii. 120. But it is not certain that Dante knew Claudian.

me, not otherwise than a virgin who casts down her honest eyes; and made my prayers to be content, drawing herself so near that the sweet sound came to me with its meaning. As soon as she was there where the grass is just bathed by the waves of the fair stream, she did me the grace of raising her eyes. I do not think that such light beamed under the eyelids of Venus pierced by her son, out of all his wont. She was smiling from the other bank, upright and with her hands handling many hues, which the

Fioretti verso me, non altrimenti
 Che vergine che gli occhi onesti avvalli;
 E fece i prieghi miei esser contenti,
 Sì appressando sè che il dolce suono
 Veniva a me coi suoi intendimenti. 60
 Tosto che fu là dove l' erbe sono
 Bagnate già dall' onde del bel fiume,
 Di levar gli occhi suoi mi fece dono.
 Non credo che splendesse tanto lume
 Sotto le ciglia a Venere trafitta
 Dal figlio, fuor di tutto suo costume.
 Ella ridea dall' altra riva dritta
 Trattando più color con le sue mani,^c

^c *Traendo Gg. Cass. 134 Ald. W.*

⁶⁶ I.e. unintentionally. Ovid Met. x. 525, 526:

Namque pharetratus dum dat puer oscula matri,
 Inscius exstanti destrinxit arundine pectus.

⁶⁷ **ridea**. See note Par. xxxi. 61. **dritta** is generally taken to mean merely 'the right bank.' But surely this is an unnecessary pleonasm; and, besides, **dritta** in this sense occurs only once elsewhere (xiv. 8). I have followed Blanc in understanding it of Matilda's attitude. See also the woodcut in the Venice ed. of 1578. As a necessary consequence we must, with Landino, read **trattando** in the following line, instead of the more usual *traendo*.

high land sends forth without seed. Three paces the stream kept us apart, but Hellespont, there where Xerxes passed, a bridle still to all pride of men, endured not from Leander greater hate, for surging between Sestos and Abydos, than that from me, for that then it opened not. 'Ye are new come, and perhaps wherefore I smile,' she began, 'in this place, set apart to the human kind for its nest, some doubt holds you marvelling; but the psalm *Delectasti* renders a light which may uncloud your understanding.

Che l' alta terra senza seme gitta.^d

Tre passi ci facea il fiume lontani: 70
 Ma Ellesponto, là 've passò Serse,
 Ancora freno a tutti orgogli umani,
 Più odio da Leandro non sofferse,
 Per mareggiare intra Sesto ed Abido,
 Che quel da me, perchè allor non s' aperse.
 Voi siete nuovi, e forse perch' io rido,
 Cominciò ella, in questo luogo eletto
 All' umana natura per suo nido,
 Maravigliando tienvi alcun sospetto :
 Ma luce rende il salmo *Delectasti*, 80
 Che puote disnebbiar vostro intelletto.

^d *altra* 134.

⁶⁹ If we read *altra*, the meaning will be 'more than the other (i.e. this) earth bears without sowing.'

⁷⁰ 'E questo fiume tre passi largo, perche tre cose bisogna a entrar in queste virtù, prima conoscere il vitio, seconda conosciutolo odiarlo, terza odiatolo dimenticarlo,' says Landino, a good specimen of the elaborate interpretation of the early commentators.

⁸⁰ Psalm xcii. 4 (Vulg. xci. 5), 'Delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua.' See Appendix A.

And thou that art in front, 'and prayedst me, say if thou wouldst hear aught else, for I come ready for thy every question, so far as may suffice.' 'The water,' said I, 'and the sound of the forest, strive in me with a new belief of a matter which I heard contrary to this.' Wherefore she: 'I will tell how by its cause proceeds that which makes thee wonder; and I will purge away the cloud which smites thee. The highest Good, which does only its own pleasure, made the man good and for good, and gave him this place for an earnest to him of eternal peace. Through his own

E tu che sei dinanzi, e mi pregasti,
 Di' s' altro vuoi udir: ch' io venni presta
 Ad ogni tua question, tanto che basti.
 L' acqua, diss' io, e il suon della foresta
 Impugnan dentro a me novella fede
 Di cosa, ch' io udi' contraria a questa.
 Ond' ella: Io dicerò come procede
 Per sua cagion, ciò ch' ammirar ti face,
 E purgherò la nebbia che ti fiede.^e 90
 Lo sommo Ben, che solo esso a sè piace,^f
 Fece l' uom buono e a bene, e questo loco ^g
 Diede per arra a lui d' eterna pace.

^e *lede Gg.*

^f *bene che solo esso se Cass. ; esse 4 ; solo a se 23 Bi.*

^g *Fe l' uom buon e ben di q. Cass. ; e bene a 1345 ; Fece . . . buono a bene e 2 Ald. Land. ; buono e 'l ben di q. Bi.*

⁸² Dante is now going in front.

⁸⁵ Statius has told him (xxi. 46 sqq.) that the mountain above the gate of Purgatory is free from all atmospheric changes. Dante is therefore at a loss to understand whence comes the wind which sounds in the leaves, and how where rain never falls there can be a stream of water.

default he abode here little time ; through his own default he changed to weeping and toil honest laughter and sweet mirth. In order that the tumult to which below the exhalations of the water and of the earth of themselves give rise, which, so far as they can, go after the heat, should not cause to the man any trouble, this mount rose thus far toward the heaven, and is free from them, from that point where is the barrier. Now, since in a circuit the whole air turns with the prime turning, if its circle is not broken by

Per sua diffalta qui dimorò poco ;
 Per sua diffalta in pianto ed in affanno
 Cambiò onesto riso e dolce giuoco.
 Perchè il turbar, che sotto da sè fanno
 L' esalazion dell' acqua e della terra,
 Che quanto posson dietro al calor vanno,
 All' uomo non facesse alcuna guerra, 100
 Questo monte sallo ver lo Ciel tanto,
 E libero n' è d' indi, ove si serra.
 Or perchè in circuito tutto quanto
 L' aer si volge con la prima volta,
 Se non gli è rotto il cerchio d' alcun canto,

⁹⁷ Bianchi takes **sotto da sè**=below the mountain. But (though we find *dì sotto da*) there seems to be no example of *sotto da*, and **sè** for *lui* is at the best very harsh. On the whole **da sè** seems to make the best sense with **fanno**.

^{98, 99} Cf. Aristotle Meteor. ii. 4 : ὕσαντὸς τε γὰρ ἡ γῆ ξηραίνουμένη ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ θερμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνωθεν, ἀναθυμιάται.

¹⁰² Cf. xxi. 49.

¹⁰³ Cf. lines 11, 12.

¹⁰⁵ Witte, Bianchi, Blanc, Philalethes, all take **d' alcun canto** as =merely 'in any part.' I have ventured to give it a more special meaning. The upper air revolves steadily from east to west with the movement of the universe ; but, being met by a projection, like this mountain, it is felt as a breeze. By this the seeds (in which the **virtù**

any corner, on this height, which is all unbounded in the living air, such motion strikes and makes the wood sound, for that it is close-set; and the plant when struck has such power that with its virtue it impregnates the breeze, and that again in its revolution around shakes it off; and the rest of the earth, according as it is fit by itself or by its sky, conceives and brings to birth of divers virtues divers trees. It would not then on earth appear a marvel, when this is heard, whensoever any plant, without seed appearing, takes hold in it. And thou must know that the holy country where thou art is full of every seed, and has fruit in itself which yonder is not plucked. The water that thou seest rises not from

In questa altezza, che tutta è disciolta
 Nell' aer vivo, tal moto percuote,
 E fa sonar la selva perch' è folta :
 E la percossa pianta tanto puote,
 Che della sua virtute l' aura impregna, 110
 E quella poi girando intorno scuote :
 E l' altra terra, secondo ch' è degna
 Per sè o per suo ciel, concepe e figlia
 Di diverse virtù diverse legna.
 Non parrebbe di là poi maraviglia,
 Udito questo, quando alcuna pianta
 Senza seme palese vi s' appiglia.
 E saper dei che la campagna santa,
 Ove tu sei, d' ogni semenza è piena,
 E frutto ha in sè che di là non si schianta. 120
 L' acqua che vedi non surge di vena^h

^h *non esce Gg.*

resides) are shaken from the trees and plants, and let fall on the earth below, where they spring up to all appearance spontaneously.

¹¹⁹ An allusion probably to Genesis ii. 9.

¹²¹ See Aristotle Meteor. i. 13.

a vein which the vapour that cold converts may restore, as a river which gains or loses force, but issues from a fountain steady and sure, which by the will of God receives back so much as opening on two sides it pours forth. On this side it descends with a virtue which takes away from a man memory of sin; on the other it restores that of every good deed. On this hand Lethe, so on the other Eunoe is it called, and it works not, if it is not first tasted on this hand and on that. Of all other savours this is sovereign. And albeit that thy thirst may be sated enough, for all that more I reveal not to thee, I will of favour give thee yet a corollary; nor

Che ristori vapor che giel converta,
 Come fiume ch' acquista o perde lena;ⁱ
 Ma esce di fontana salda e certa,
 Che tanto del voler di Dio riprende,^k
 Quant' ella versa da due parti aperta.
 Da questa parte con virtù discende,
 Che toglie altrui memoria del peccato;
 Dall' altra, d' ogni ben fatto la rende.
 Quinci Letè, così dall' altro lato 130
 Eunoè si chiama: e non adopra,
 Se quinci e quindi pria non è gustato.
 A tutt' altri sapori esto è di sopra:
 E avvegna ch' assai possa esser sazia
 La sete tua, perch' io più non ti scopra,
 Darotti un corollario ancor per grazia;^l

ⁱ *c' aspetta* Cass. 12345 *Ald.*; *Come l' altra c' acq.* Gg.
^k *risplende* Gg.

^l *Dirotti* Gg.

¹²² **converta**, i.e. changes back to water. Cf. v. 109-111.

¹³⁵ **perchè**, as v. 58, etc.

think I that my word will to thee be less precious if beyond promise it go along with thee. Those who in ancient time sang of the age of gold and its happy state, haply in Parnassus dreamt of this place. Here was the root of mankind innocent; here is spring ever, and every fruit; nectar is this of which each speaks.'

I turned me quite round then to my poets, and saw that with a smile they had heard the last interpretation. Then to the fair dame I turned again my face.

Nè credo, che il mio dir ti sia men caro
 Se oltre promission teco si spazia.
 Quelli ch' anticamente poetaro
 L' età dell' oro e suo stato felice, 140
 Forse in Parnaso esto loco sognaro.^m
 Qui fu innocente l' umana radice;
 Qui primavera sempre, ed ogni frutto;
 Nettare è questo di che ciascun dice.
 Io mi rivolsi addietro allora tutto
 Ai miei Poeti, e vidi che con riso
 Udito avevan l' ultimo costruito:
 Poi alla bella donna tornai il viso.

^m *segnaro Gg. Cass. (al. sogn.) 1245; signaro 3.*

¹⁴¹ Daniello quotes Persius Prol. 2: 'Nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso'; which, except for the sound of the words, does not seem much to the point.

¹⁴⁸ **tornai**, as usual, with the idea of not merely 'turning,' but 'turning back to a former position.'

CANTO XXIX

ARGUMENT

They proceed along the banks of the stream, which presently turns to the eastward, and of a sudden perceive a bright light and a sweet music. There appears a wondrous pageant, preceded by seven candlesticks, a car drawn by a Grifon, and escorted by four-and-twenty elders and four beasts, with other personages. They halt opposite to where the poets stand.

SINGING, as a dame enamoured, she went on with her final words, *Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata*. And like nymphs who used to go solitary through the wooded shades, desiring one to escape, one to behold the sun, she then moved against the stream, going up along the bank, and I abreast of her,

CANTANDO come donna innamorata,
Continuò col fin di sue parole :
Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata :
E come Ninfe che si givan sole ^a
Per le salvatiche ombre, disiando
Qual di fuggir, qual di veder lo sole ;
Allor si mosse contra il fiume, andando
Su per la riva, ed io pari di lei,

^a *che seguivan Gg.*

³ Psalm xxxii. 1.

⁷ They now turn to the south, and go less than fifty paces each

following with little steps her little steps. There were not a hundred paces between hers and mine, when the banks made a turn equally, in such wise that I again set myself toward the sunrising. Nor thus, too, had our way been long when the lady turned wholly towards me, saying: 'My brother, look and listen.' And lo, a brightness suddenly rushed from all quarters through the great forest such that it set me questioning of lightning. But whereas lightning stays even as it comes, and this continuing, kept shining more and more, I began to say within my thought: 'What

Picciol passo con picciol seguitando.
 Non eran cento tra i suoi passi e i miei, 10
 Quando le ripe igualmente dier volta,
 Per modo ch' a levante mi rendei.
 Nè anche fu così nostra via molta,
 Quando la donna tutta a me si torse,
 Dicendo: Frate mio, guarda ed ascolta.
 Ed ecco un lustro subito trascorse
 Da tutte parti per la gran foresta,
 Tal che di balenar mi mise in forse.^b
 Ma perchè il balenar, come vien, resta,
 E quel durando più e più splendeva, 20
 Nel mio pensar dicea: Che cosa è questa?

^b *mi fe in f. Gg.*

(l. 10) in that direction, when they reach a bend in the stream, and face eastward. They go a little further (ll. 13, 46), when Dante finally halts (l. 70), and remains standing on the bank until he is taken through the river by Matilda (xxi. 94). Vellutello thinks that the turn to the right denotes application to good works, and the return to the east the renewal of contemplation.

¹⁸ **mi mise in forse.** So Inf. viii. 110. See also note to iii. 37.

¹⁹ **come vien**, i.e. momentarily. Or, taking **resta** as in Inf. xxv. 135, 'ceases when it comes.'

thing is this?' And a sweet melody was running through the luminous air, wherefore a good zeal made me reproach the boldness of Eve; for that there, where heaven and earth were obedient, a woman alone, and she but that instant formed, did not endure to stay under any veil; under the which if she had stayed devout, I should have felt these ineffable delights ere now, and after for a long time.

While I was going along among such firstfruits of the eternal pleasure, all in suspense and desirous yet for more joys, before us the air became to us even as a burning fire under the green branches, and the sweet sound was already

Ed una melodia dolce correva
 Per l' aer luminoso : onde buon zelo
 Mi fe riprender l' ardimento d' Eva ;
 Chè, là dove ubbidia la terra e il Cielo,^c
 Femmina sola, e pur testè formata,
 Non sofferse di star sotto alcun velo :
 Sotto il qual se divotà fosse stata,
 Avrei quelle ineffabili delizie
 Sentite prima, e poi lunga fiata.^d
 Mentr' io m' andava tra tante primizie
 Dell' eterno piacer, tutto sospeso,
 E disioso ancora a più letizie,
 Dinanzi a noi, tal quale un fuoco acceso
 Ci si fe l' aer, sotto i verdi rami,
 E il dolce suon per canto era già inteso.

30

^c *Quella disubbididò Gg.*

^d *prima e più Gg. 1234 IV. ; prima più Cass.*

²⁸ **testè.** In longer form **testeso**, xxi. 113. From *ante istud ipsum* according to Diez iii. 436. Boccaccio and Sacchetti use it also of the immediate future. In Inf. vi. 69 and Par. xix. 7 it is present.

³⁰ I.e. through this life and the next.

perceived for a chant. O most holy Virgins, if fasts, cold, or watches I have ever endured for you, occasion spurs me to claim reward therefore. Now it behoves that Helicon pour forth for me and that Urania aid me with her choir to put in verse things mighty to conceive.

A little further on the long interval which was still between us and them made falsely in appearance seven masts of gold; but when I was so near them that the common object, which cheats the sense, lost not through

O sacrosante Vergini, se fami,
 Freddi, o vigilie mai per voi soffersi,
 Cagion mi sprona ch' io mercè ne chiami.

Or convien ch' Elicona per me versi, 40

E Urania m' aiuti col suo coro,
 Forti cose a pensar mettere in versi.

Poco più oltre sette alberi d' oro ^e

Falsava nel parere il lungo tratto

Del mezzo, ch' era ancor tra noi e loro :

Ma quando i' fui sì presso di lor fatto,

Che l' obietto comun, che il senso inganna,^f

^e *arbori* 23 *W.*

^f *Che l' obbico* 134 ; *com' uom* *Gg.* (margin *cammin*).

⁴² Cf. Milton's 'Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.' Par. L. i. 16. Bianchi can hardly be right in understanding *ed a* before **mettere**, and taking both this and **pensar** as dependent on **aiuti**, though Philalethes seems to take the same view : 'Das Schwerer ich erdenk.'

⁴⁷ **l' obietto comun.** So Conv. iv. 8 : 'nelli sensibili comuni, là dove il senso spesse volte è ingannato.' This use of the expression seems here to be founded on a misunderstanding of 'τὸ κοινὸν' in De Animâ ii. 6. Aristotle (as appears from De Sensu i : λέγω δὲ κοινὰ σχῆμα, μέγεθος, κίνησιν, ἀριθμὸν) uses it of such attributes as may be perceived by more than one sense, as motion, number, size, etc. ; Dante

distance any of its features, the faculty which gathers arguments for reason apprehended them as they were—candlesticks, and in the voices of the chanting—Hosanna. On high was flaming the fair equipment, far brighter than the Moon

Non perdea per distanza alcun suo atto ;
 La virtù ch' a ragion discorso ammannà,
 Sì com' elli eran candelabri apprese,^g 50
 E nelle voci del cantare Osanna.^h
 Di sopra fiammeggiava il bello arnese
 Più chiaro assai, che luna per sereno

^g *acese* al. *aprese*) *Cass.* ; *accese* 14.

^h *nelle bocche* *Gg.*

is speaking of attributes common to more than one object of sense, which are the first to be perceived, and thus cause mistakes. In the present case candlesticks and masts (not, I think, 'trees,' as Philalethes renders) have the common property of height, straightness, etc. The distinguishing characteristics, e.g. colour, are regarded as attributes laid upon the **obietto comun**, as features upon the face ; **atto** being used much as in xxiv. 27.

⁴⁹ **la virtù.** Philalethes takes this to be the intellect, which enables the reason to express its conclusions by means of *speech*, since it gives it its material, viz. the *species intelligibiles*. 'The senses at first let in particular ideas : afterwards the mind abstracts them. . . . In this manner the mind comes to be furnished with ideas and language, the materials about which to exercise its discursive faculty.'—Locke i. chap. 2, § 15. It seems better, however, to take it in the more restricted sense of the 'apprehensive' faculty (xviii. 22), which collects the evidence given by the senses, and passes it on for the *reason* to pronounce upon it. (De Animâ iii. 3. Cf. Ozanam, Dante, Part II. chap. iii. §§ 1, 2.) Cf. Hamlet i. 2, 150 : 'A beast that wants discourse of reason.' 'Discursus,' says Aquinas, 'est motus sive progressus mentis ab uno iudicio ad aliud,' or more properly, the progress from two concerted judgements to a third resulting from their connection, a syllogism ; the materials for it being given by 'apprehensio.'

⁵¹ 'Alla nobile anima si fanno incontro ad osannare quelli cittadin dell' eterna vita.' Conv. iv. 28, ed. Giuliani. Cf. V. N. § 23.

in a clear sky at midnight in her mid-month. I turned me back full of wonder to the good Virgil, and he answered me with a look charged no less with astonishment. Then I set my face again to the lofty objects which were moving to meet us so slowly that they would have been overcome by new-wedded brides. The lady cried to me: 'Why turnest thou thus in thy desire only towards the living lights, and that which comes behind them regardest not?' Then saw I folk, as after their guides, come behind, clad in white, and such whiteness never was there in this world. The water was shining on the left flank, and returned to me my left

Di mezza notte nel suo mezzo mese.
 Io mi rivolsi d' ammirazion pieno
 Al buon Virgilio, ed esso mi rispose
 Con vista carca di stupor non meno.
 Indi rendei l' aspetto all' alte cose,
 Che si movieno incontro a noi sì tardi,
 Che foran vinte da novelle spose. 60
 La donna mi sgridò: Perchè pur ardi
 Sì nell' affetto delle vive luci,ⁱ
 E ciò che vien diretto a lor non guardi?
 Genti vid' io allor, com' a lor duci,
 Venire appresso, vestite di bianco:
 E tal candor giammai di qua non fuci.
 L' acqua splendeva dal sinistro fianco,^k
 E rendea a me la mia sinistra costa,^l

ⁱ nell' aspetto Gg. Cass. 14 W.; effetto 2.

^k L' acqua *imprende* Gg. Cass. 15; *prende* 4; *prendeami* 3.

^l *rende* mi Gg. 134; *rendeame* Cass.

⁶² **affetto**, as in xviii. 57. Land. seems to read *prime* for **vive**.

⁶⁷ The reading **splendeva** is the most intelligible, and the one

side if I gazed in it, even like a mirror. When on my bank I had such position, that only the river separated me, to see better I gave a halt to my steps, and I saw the flames go forward, leaving behind them the air painted ; and they had the semblance of pencils drawn along, so that above them it remained marked off with seven bands, all in

S' io riguardava in lei, come specchio anco.
 Quand' io dalla mia riva ebbi tal posta, 70
 Che solo il fiume mi facea distante,
 Per veder meglio ai passi diedi sosta :
 E vidi le fiammelle andare avanti,
 Lasciando dietro a sè l' aer dipinto,
 E di tratti pennelli avea sembiante,
 Sì che di sopra rimanea distinto
 Di sette liste, tutte in que' colori,

adopted by most editors from Aldus downward, though called by Scarabelli (according to Barlow, *Seicento Lezioni*, p. 47), 'un grosso errore.' The usual rule, to look with suspicion on the easier reading, is somewhat modified here by the presence of **rendea** in the next line, and the possibility that this having been inserted here by a very common copyist's blunder may have given rise to the **prendea** readings. The Venice ed. of 1578 has **impiendea**, and **pendea** is found in some MSS. Ought we not to read **impendeva** : 'I hung over the water' ? Otherwise line 68 seems to involve a lack of Dante's usual accuracy about details, for no one could see his own left side reflected in a stream without bending over it. Scartazzini adopts **splendeva** without remark, which is curious, as he seldom misses an opportunity of girding at Scarabelli. It is not impossible that the whole passage from l. 64 is corrupt. The repetition of **a lor—allor—a lor** is awkward, as is also the position of **anco** at the end of l. 69.

⁷⁶ It seems best to take **pennelli**, with the older commentators, in the same sense as it has in xii. 64, though its use in the sense of 'pennons' is not unknown. But the likening of the flames to painters' brushes, drawn along and leaving a band of colour behind, is quite in Dante's manner.

those colours whereof the sun makes his bow and Delia her girdle. To the rearward these banners were too great for my sight ; and as far as I could judge, ten paces were apart those on the outside. Under so fair a sky as I devise, four-and-twenty elders, two by two, were coming, crowned with lily flowers. They were all singing : ‘Blessed thou among the daughters of Adam, and blessed be for ever thy beauties.’ After that the flowers and the other fresh herbage abreast of me, on the other bank, were clear of those elect folk, just as light follows light in heaven, came after them four living creatures crowned each with green leaves.

Onde fa l' arco il Sole, e Delia il cinto.
 Questi stendali dietro eran maggiori
 Che la mia vista : e quanto a mio avviso 80
 Dieci passi distavan quei di fuori.
 Sotto così bel ciel, com' io diviso,
 Ventiquattro seniori, a due a due,
 Coronati venian di fiordaliso.
 Tutti cantavan : Benedetta tue
 Nelle figlie d' Adamo, e benedette
 Sieno in eterno le bellezze tue.
 Poscia che i fiori e l' altre fresche erbette,
 A rimpetto di me dall' altra sponda,
 Libere fur da quelle genti elette, 90
 Sì come luce luce in ciel seconda,
 Vennero appresso lor quattro animali,
 Coronati ciascun di verde fronda.^m

^m *Coronato W. Bi.*

⁷⁸ Rainbow and lunar halo (Par. x. 67). As to the interpretation of these bands, and of the whole pageant, see Appendix B.

Each one had six feathered wings, the feathers full of eyes; and the eyes of Argus, if they were living, would be such. To describe their form I scatter rhymes no more, reader, for other expense binds me so, that in this I cannot be lavish. But read Ezekiel, for he depicts them as he saw them come from the cold quarter with wind, with cloud, and with fire; and such as thou shalt find them in his book, such were they here, save that as to the wings John is with me, and separates from him. The space between them four contained a car upon two wheels, triumphal, which came drawn by the neck of a Grifon; and he was

Ognuno era pennuto di sei ali,
 Le penne piene d' occhi; e gli occhi d' Argo,
 Se fosser vivi, sarebber cotali.
 A descriver lor forma più non spargo
 Rime, lettor; ch' altra spesa mi strigne
 Tanto, che in questa non posso esser largo.
 Ma leggi Ezechiel, che li dipigne 100
 Come li vide dalla fredda parte
 Venir con vento con nube e con igne:
 E quai li troverai nelle sue carte,
 Tali eran quivi, salvo ch' alle penne
 Giovanni è meco, e da lui si diparte.
 Lo spazio dentro a lor quattro contenne
 Un carro in su duo ruote trionfale,
 Ch' al collo d' un Grifon tirato venne:

⁹⁴ **pennuto di ali.** Cf. the Greek constr. e.g. ἀπεπλος φαρέων, πολυστεφής δάφνης.

¹⁰⁰ Ezekiel i. 4. In v. 6 he says: 'Every one had four wings.' The 'four beasts' seen by St. John, Rev. iv. 8, 'had each of them six wings about him'; hence Dante's remark in l. 105.

stretching up his wings one and the other between the midmost band and the three and three, so that to no one, by cleaving it, did he do harm. They rose so high that they were out of sight ; he had his limbs of gold so far as he was bird, and white the others with vermilion mingled. Not only did Rome never rejoice with car so fair Africanus or Augustus, but that of the Sun would be poor beside it ; that of the Sun which going astray was burnt, through the prayer of the devoted Earth, when Jove was in his hidden counsels just. Three ladies, whirling on the right wheel's side, came dancing, the one so red, that hardly would she

Ed esso tendea su l' una e l' altr' ale,
 Tra la mezzana e le tre e tre liste, 110
 Sì ch' a nulla fendendo facea male.¹¹
 Tanto salivan che non eran viste :
 Le membra d' oro avea quant' era uccello,
 E bianche l' altre di vermiglio miste.
 Non che Roma di carro così bello
 Rallegrasse Affricano, o vero Augusto :
 Ma quel del Sol saria pover con ello :
 Quel del Sol, che sviando fu combusto,
 Per l' orazion della Terra devota,
 Quando fu Giove arcanamente giusto. 120
 Tre donne in giro dalla destra ruota
 Venian danzando, l' una tanto rossa,

¹¹ *offendendo Cass.; che nullo off.* 14.

¹⁰⁹ I.e. the middle band was between his wings, which passed along in the spaces between that and the third and fifth.

¹¹² *salivan*, sc. his wings.

^{113, 114} Canticles v. 10, 11 : *Dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus . . . caput ejus aurum optimum.*

¹²⁰ Cf. vi. 121, xx. 95.

¹²¹ The theological virtues : Love, Hope, Faith.

have been marked within the fire ; the second was as if her flesh and bones had been made out of emerald ; the third appeared snow but lately driven. And now they seemed led by the white, now by the red, and from her chant the others took both slow and quick their pace. On the left side four made holiday, clad in purple, following the fashion of one of them who had three eyes in her head. After all the afore-mentioned group I saw two old men unlike in habit, but like in feature, both dignified and grave. The one showed himself one of the familiars of that great Hippocrates whom nature made for the animals that she holds

Ch' a pena fora dentro al fuoco nota ;
 L' altr' era, come se le carni e l' ossa
 Fossero state di smeraldo fatte ;
 La terza pareva neve testè mossa :
 Ed or parevan dalla bianca tratte,
 Or dalla rossa, e dal canto di questa
 L' altre toglie l' andare e tarde e ratte.
 Dalla sinistra quattro facean festa,
 In porpora vestite dietro al modo
 D' una di lor, ch' avea tre occhi in testa.
 Appresso tutto il pertrattato nodo,
 Vidi duo vecchi in abito dispari,
 Ma pari in atto ed onestato e sodo.
 L' un si mostrava alcun dei famigliari
 Di quel sommo Ippocrate, che natura
 Agli animali fe ch' ella ha più cari.

130

¹³⁰ The moral virtues : Temperance, Fortitude, Justice, Prudence.

¹³⁶ **l' un**, St. Luke, as author of the Acts. — **famigliari**, i.e. physicians.

¹³⁸ I.e. mankind.

dearest. The other showed the contrary care, with a sword bright and keen, such that on the hither side of the stream it caused me fear. Afterward saw I four in humble guise, and behind all a solitary old man come sleeping with his countenance undimmed. And these seven were habited as the first array; but they made not a thicket of lilies around their heads; rather of roses and other crimson flowers. Seeing them from a short distance one would have sworn that they were

Mostrava l' altro la contraria cura,
 Con una spada lucida ed acuta,
 Tal che di qua del rio mi fe paura.
 Poi vidi quattro in umile paruta,
 E dietro da tutti un veglio solo
 Venir, dormendo, con la faccia arguta.
 E questi sette come il primaio stuolo
 Erano abituati; ma di gigli
 Dintorno al capo non facevan brolo;
 Anzi di rose e d' altri fior vermigli:
 Giurato avria poco lontano aspetto,

140

¹³⁹ l' altro, St. Paul.—**contraria cura**, because the sword slays.

¹⁴³ **un veglio**, St. John, as author of the Apocalypse.

¹⁴⁵ The usual reading is *col primaio* (*con* as in Par. xxxi. 60), but this leaves a syllable wanting, for the termination **-aio** reckons as one syllable only, e.g. xiv. 66, Inf. vi. 79. I have therefore ventured to make the slight change in the text. (Is it possible that we ought to regard the *o* as being affected by the *st* at the beginning of the next word in such a manner as to retain its proper force as a separate syllable? Cf. Inf. xxviii. 12, Par. xxxi. 53.)

¹⁴⁸ **anzi**, Fr. *ains* (a word which has unfortunately become obsolete). The signification is precisely the same as our 'rather' (= 'sooner'); *ma, mais (magis)*, being of course 'more.'

¹⁴⁹ Lit. 'a look at no great distance would have sworn.'

all on fire from the eyelids upward. And when the car was abreast of me a thundering was heard, and those worshipful folk appeared to have their further advance forbidden, halting there with the first ensigns.

Che tutti ardesser di sopra dai cigli. 150
E quando il carro a me fu a rimpetto,
Un tuon s' udì ; e quelle genti degne
Parvero aver l' andar più interdetto,
Fermandos' ivi con le prime insegne.

CANTO XXX

ARGUMENT

Beatrice appears, standing on the car, amid the flowers which the angels strew. Virgil has disappeared ; and she calls upon Dante by name, and while he weeps at the sight of her, she recounts to those around her how he has fallen away from the promise of his early life, and how she has caused him to make this journey for his salvation.

WHEN the wain of the first heaven, which never knew setting nor rising, nor veil of other cloud than sin, and

QUANDO il settentrion del primo cielo,
Che nè occaso mai seppe nè orto,
Nè d' altra nebbia che di colpa velo :

¹ **settentrion** is usually understood of the seven candlesticks. Landino indeed says : 'La sententia è, quando s' affisse e fermò il carro,' and so P. di Dante ; and the marginal reading of the Duke of Sermoneta's Codex, given by Witte, **che** for **tra**, in line 8, if it could be supposed to be the correct reading, would make this clearly right. In some ways it is more satisfactory than the ordinary interpretation ; because it is rather the Church (denoted by the car), than the seven gifts of the Spirit, which may be regarded as teaching men their duty ; also the parallel of the 'Wain' is better preserved. In default, however, of more MS. authority, the usual explanation must be taken. In that case **suo dover** means merely 'the way they were to go.' **primo cielo** must here = the Empyrean heaven, usually reckoned as the tenth. Bianchi's 'il cielo del Paradiso terrestre' can hardly be right.

which was there making each one acquainted with his duty, as that lower one makes whoso turns the helm to come to port, fixed itself at a halt, that truthful folk who first had come between the Grifon and it, turned them to the car as to their peace; and one of them, as though sent from heaven, singing, cried thrice: '*Veni, sponsa de Libano*,' and all the others after him. As the blessed at the last proclamation shall rise ready every one from his own cavern, singing Hallelujah in the voice which they have again put on,

E che faceva li ciascuno accorto
 Di suo dover, come il più basso face
 Qual timon gira per venire a porto,
 Fermo s' affisse; la gente verace
 Venuta prima tra il Grifone ed esso,
 Al carro volse sè, come a sua pace.
 E un di loro quasi da ciel messo, 10
Veni, sponsa de Libano, cantando,
 Gridò tre volte, e tutti gli altri appresso.
 Quali i beati al novissimo bando
 Surgeran presti, ognun di sua caverna,
 La rivestita voce alleluando,^a

^a *alleviando* Gg. Cass. 14; *carne allev.* Ald. Land. 23.

⁵ **il più basso.** The real constellation of the Wain, which is in the eighth heaven.

⁶ Dante appears to use the form *timone* only of the helm of a rudder, the pole of a cart being *temo*.

⁷ **la gente verace**, i.e. the twenty-four elders, denoting the Old Testament writers, who prophesied.

¹⁰ **un**: Solomon. The words he utters are from Canticles iv. 8.

¹⁵ *carne*, for **voce**, is probably an importation from Par. xiv. 43. I have followed Bianchi and the Germans in preferring **alleluando**, which, besides giving a far finer image, is much more likely to have

such upon the divine chariot, uprose a hundred, *ad vocem tanti senis*, ministers and messengers of life eternal. All were saying: *Benedictus qui venis*, and casting flowers above and all around, *Manibus o date lilia plenis*. I have seen ere now at the beginning of the day the eastern quarter all rosy, and the rest of heaven beautiful with fair clear sky, and the face of the sun rise shadowed, so that through tempering of vapours the eye sustained it a long time; so within a cloud of flowers which was rising from the angelic

Cotali, in su la divina basterna,
Si levar cento, *ad vocem tanti senis*,
Ministri e messaggier di vita eterna.

Tutti dicean: *Benedictus qui venis*,
E fior gittando di sopra e dintorno, 20
Manibus o date lilia plenis.

Io vidi già nel cominciar del giorno
La parte oriental tutta rosata,
E l' altro ciel di bel sereno adorno:
E la faccia del Sol nascere ombrata,
Sì che per temperanza di vapori,
L' occhio lo sostenea lunga fiata:
Così dentro una nuvola di fiori,
Che dalle mani angeliche saliva,

been corrupted into than from the easier *alleviando*. Comm. Gg. has: 'i.e. cum gaudio cantando alleluia.' For the constr. see Diez iii. 107, and compare *arridere un cenno*, Par. xv. 71.

¹⁷ 'at the voice of so great an elder.'

²¹ Aen. vi. 884. In order to scan this and other Latin lines in Dante every syllable must be given the value of its position, quite irrespective of its real quantity.

²³ *rosata*. Bianchi says 'sparsa di rugiada,' and so 'misty'; but there seems no authority for the word in this sense; and, besides, *rosata* ought, on the analogy of Fr. *rosée*, to mean 'dew,' not 'dewy.'

hands and falling down again within and without, crowned with olive over a white veil appeared to me a lady, clad under green mantle with colour of living flame. And my spirit—that already had been so long a time without being at her presence broken down, trembling, with awe—without having further cognisance by the eyes, through hidden virtue which moved from her, felt the great power of an ancient love. Soon as the high virtue smote me on the face, which already had pierced me ere I was forth of boyhood, I turned me round to the left with that regard wherewith

E ricadeva giù dentro e di fuori, 30
 Sovra candido vel cinta d' oliva
 Donna m' apparve, sotto verde manto
 Vestita di color di fiamma viva.
 E lo spirito mio, che già cotanto
 Tempo era stato ch' alla sua presenza^b
 Non era di stupor tremando affranto,
 Senza degli occhi aver più conoscenza,
 Per occulta virtù che da lei mosse,
 D' antico amor sentì la gran potenza.
 Tosto che nella vista mi percosse^c 40
 L' alta virtù, che già m' avea trafitto
 Prima ch' io fuor di puerizia fosse;
 Volsimi alla sinistra col rispetto,

^b *cholla sua Gg. ; con la sua 35 Ald.*

^c *nella vita Gg.*

³¹ Notice the colours in which Beatrice is clad, which recur frequently, and denote the three theological virtues, as is seen in the last canto. They are also those used by Giotto in painting Dante's own portrait on the wall of the Bargello at Florence, but were changed for political reasons after the discovery of the picture in 1840, as being the colours chosen for the flag of Italian unity.

³⁶ Cf. Vita Nuova § ii. and the sonnet in § xxi. So, too, Conv. ii. 8.

^{41, 42} Dante was nine years old when he first saw Beatrice.

the infant runs to his mother when he is frightened or when he is in trouble, to say to Virgil: 'Less than a dram of blood remains to me which trembles not; I recognise the signs of the ancient flame.' But Virgil had left us shorn of himself; Virgil my sweetest father; Virgil to whom for my salvation I gave myself; nor did all that the ancient mother lost avail to my cheeks, cleansed as they were with dew, that with weeping they should not turn foul again.

'Dante, for all that Virgil goes his way, weep not yet,

Col quale il fantolin corre alla mamma,
 Quando ha paura o quando egli è afflitto,^d
 Per dicere a Virgilio: Men che dramma
 Di sangue m'è rimasa, che non tremi;
 Conosco i segni dell' antica fiamma.
 Ma Virgilio n' avea lasciati scemi
 Di sè, Virgilio dolcissimo padre, 50
 Virgilio, a cui per mia salute die' mi:
 Nè quantunque perdè l' antica madre,
 Valse alle guance nette di rugiada,
 Che lagrimando non tornassero adre.
 Dante, perchè Virgilio se ne vada,
 Non pianger anco, non piangere ancora,

^d *trafitto Gg. Cass. 124.*

⁴⁸ Aen. iv. 23: 'Agnosco veteris vestigia flammae.'

⁵¹ **die' mi.** We should have expected the **m** to be doubled; but cf. xiv. 76.

⁵² **quantunque**, etc., all the beauties of the earthly Paradise.

⁵³ **nette di rugiada.** Not, I think, as Bianchi explains, 'non lacrimose,' but with allusion to i. 127. Philalethes, 'thaugewaschen,' which seems better.

⁵⁵ The only mention of Dante's name throughout the poem; see l. 63, and cf. Conv. i. 2, Aristotle Rhet. iii. 17, § 15.

weep not yet awhile ; seeing it behoves thee to weep for other wound.' As an admiral, who on poop and on prow comes to see the folk that are serving throughout the other vessels and encourages them to do well, upon the left rim of the car—when I turned round at the sound of my own name, which of necessity here is registered—I saw the dame who first appeared to me veiled beneath the greeting of the angels, direct her eyes towards me on my side of the stream. Albeit that the veil, which descended from her head, circled with the leaf of Minerva, did not allow her to appear manifest, royally, in her mien still haughty she continued,

Chè pianger ti convien per altra spada.
 Quasi ammiraglio, che in poppa ed in prora
 Viene a veder la gente che ministra
 Per gli altri legni, ed a ben far la incuora, 60
 In su la sponda del carro sinistra,
 Quando mi volsi al suon del nome mio,
 Che di necessità qui si registra,
 Vidi la Donna che pria m' apparìo,
 Velata sotto l' angelica festa,
 Drizzar gli occhi ver me di qua dal rio.
 Tutto che il vel che le scendea di testa,^e
 Cerchiato dalla fronde di Minerva,
 Non la lasciasse parer manifesta :
 Regalmente nell' atto ancor proterva 70

^e *Tutto quel v. Gg. ; nel v. Cass.*

⁶¹ **sponda.** See note to xiii. 81. The car is probably imagined as having a kind of bulwark round it, on the flat top of which she stands.

⁶⁵ **festa,** as in vi. 81, xxvi. 33. Here it alludes to the flowers which the angels scatter.

⁷⁰ Bianchi quotes Conv. iii. 15: 'Essa Filosofia párea a me fiera,' etc.

as one who speaks and keeps back his strongest word :
 'Look at me well ; I am, ay, I am Beatrice ; how deignedst
 thou to approach the mount ? Knewest thou not that here
 the man is happy ?' My eyes dropped down to the clear
 fount, but seeing myself in it I drew them toward the grass,
 so great shame lay heavy on my brow. In such wise the
 mother to the son seems proud, as she appeared to me,
 because the savour of her stern pity has a taste of bitter.
 She held her peace, and the angels sang on a sudden : *In*

Continuò, come colui che dice
 E il più caldo parlar dietro riserva :
 Guardaci ben ; ben sem, ben sem Beatrice :^f
 Come degnasti d' accedere al monte ?
 Non sapei tu che qui è l' uom felice ?
 Gli occhi mi cadder giù nel chiaro fonte ;
 Ma veggendomi in esso, io trassi all' erba,
 Tanta vergogna mi gravò la fronte.
 Così la madre al figlio par superba,
 Com' ella parve a me ; perchè d' amaro 80
 Sente il sapor della pietate acerba.
 Ella si tacque, e gli Angeli cantaro

^f *Guardami ben sio son 5 ; mi . . . son . . . son Ald. Land. Bi. ;
 ci . . . son . . . son W.*

⁷³ I have followed the reading which has by far the most authority.
 The use of the plural may be taken as continuing the idea of **regal-
 mente**.

⁷⁴ Ironical : 'how was it that you thought it worth while ?' The
 next line of course drops the irony.

⁷⁹⁻⁸¹ Cf. Petr. Tri. della M. ii. 93, 'Nè per ferza è però madre
 men pia.'

^{80, 81} **d' amaro sente** ; so, 'sa di sale' Par. xvii. 58. Diez appears
 to have overlooked this construction, which is, however, recognised by
 Corticelli, book ii. chap. 4. Witte, following Aldus, reads **senti**.

te, Domine, speravi; but beyond *pedes meos* they passed not. As snow among the living beams along the backbone of Italy congeals, blown on and bound close by the winds of Slavonia, afterwards melting filters through into itself, so only that the land which loses shadow breathe, in such wise that it seems fire melting the candle, just so was I without tears or sighs before the chanting of those who are ever quiring after the notes of the eternal circles; but

Di subito : *In te, Domine, speravi,*
 Ma oltre *pedes meos* non passaro.
 Sì come neve tra le vive travi
 Per lo dosso d' Italia si congela,
 Soffiata e stretta dalli venti Schiavi,
 Poi liquefatta in sè stessa trapela,
 Pur che la terra che perde ombra spiri,
 Sì che par fuoco fonder la candela : 90
 Così fui senza lagrime e sospiri
 Anzi il cantar di quei che notan sempre
 Dietro alle note degli eterni giri ;

⁸³ Psalm xxxi. to the end of verse 9. The following verses, as Philalethes remarks, would be out of place here.

⁸⁵ **vive travi**, the trees. So Ovid Met. viii. 329: 'Silva frequens trabibus.' (It also occurs Aen. ix. 87, but the line is probably spurious.)

⁸⁶ **dosso**. The Apennine.

⁸⁷ **venti Schiavi**. North-east winds from the Dalmatian mountains. M. Villani xi. 60, 'Un vento Schiavo temperato.'

⁸⁹ **la terra che perde ombra** is the torrid zone, within which the Sun is vertically overhead twice in each year, so that the shadow is 'lost.'

⁹⁰ The construction is curious; it seems to be a sort of confusion between 'fuoco par fondere,' and 'par fuoco che fonde.'

⁹³ Cf. Merchant of Venice, act v. sc. 1, 60-62. There is another reading, *rote*, perhaps suggested by xix. 63, and l. 109.

when I heard in their sweet harmonies their sympathy with me, more than if they had said: 'Lady, why dost thou so distemper him?' the frost which had been tight bound around my heart became breath and water, and with anguish through the mouth and eyes issued from my breast. She, standing ever unmoved on the aforesaid flank of the car, next turned her words to the pious substances in this wise: 'Ye watch in the eternal day so that night nor sleep steals from you a step which the age may make upon its ways; wherefore my reply is with more care that he may hear me

Ma poichè intesi nelle dolci tempre
 Lor compatire a me, più che se detto^g
 Avesser: Donna, perchè sì lo stembre?
 Lo giel che m' era intorno al cuor ristretto,
 Spirito ed acqua fessi, e con angoscia
 Per la bocca e per gli occhi uscì del petto.
 Ella, pur ferma in su la detta coscia^h 100
 Del carro stando, alle sustanzie pie
 Volse le sue parole così poscia:
 Voi vigilate nell' eterno die,
 Sì che notte nè sonno a voi non fura
 Passo, che faccia il secol per sue vie:
 Onde la mia risposta è con più cura,

^g *compartir* 134; *par ch' esse d.* Gg.; *par come se* 3; *pari chese* 14.
^h *destra coscia* Gg. Ald. Land.

¹⁰⁰ **detta**, the left, see l. 61. Land. and Vell. with others of the early edd. and some MSS. read *destra*, which is clearly wrong. The woodcut in the Venice ed. of 1578 correctly represents Beatrice as standing on the left edge of the car.

¹⁰¹ **sustanzie**, as in Par. vii. 5, and elsewhere. It is, of course, in the metaphysical sense. See note to xviii. 49.

who is weeping on the other bank, so that fault and sorrow may be of one measure. Not only by operation of the mighty wheels, which direct every seed to some end, according as the stars accompany; but by largess of divine graces, which have to their rain clouds so lofty that our sight comes not there a-nigh, this man was such in his new life, potentially, that every right habit would have wrought in him a wondrous result. But all the more malign and the more wild becomes the ground with bad seed and unculti-

Che m' intenda colui che di là piagne,
 Perchè sia colpa e duol d' una misura.
 Non pur per ovra delle ruote magne,
 Che drizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine, 110
 Secondo che le stelle son compagne :
 Ma per larghezza di grazie divine,
 Che sì alti vapori hanno a lor piova,
 Che nostre viste là non van vicine ;
 Questi fu tal nella sua vita nuova
 Virtualmente, ch' ogni abito destro
 Fatto averebbe in lui mirabil pruova.
 Ma tanto più maligno e più silvestro
 Si fa il terren col mal seme e non colto,

¹⁰⁹ **ruote magne.** Cf. xix. 63.

¹¹¹ Cf. xvi. 73.

¹¹⁵ **vita nuova** here, as in the title of Dante's work, means simply 'young life,' or what he elsewhere denotes by 'adolescenza.' See Conv. iv. 24, where he fixes its limit at the age of twenty-five. After this begins the second age, or 'gioventute.'

¹¹⁷ **pruova**, as in Par. viii. 141.

¹¹⁹ Comparing Conv. iv. 21: 'Se questo (l' animo) non è bene culto e sostenuto diritto per buona consuetudine, poco vale la sementa, e meglio sarebbe non esser seminato,' one is tempted to suggest 'il terreno col mal seme colto.'

vated, in proportion as it has from the soil more of good force. A certain time I stayed him with my countenance ; showing my young eyes to him I led him with me turned to the right part. So soon as I was on the threshold of my second age, and changed life, this man took himself from me and gave himself to another. When I was risen from flesh to spirit, and beauty and virtue had increased upon me, I was to him less dear and less acceptable ; and he turned his steps on a way that was not true, following false

Quant' egli ha più di buon vigor terrestre. 120
 Alcun tempo il sostenni col mio volto ;
 Mostrando gli occhi giovinetti a lui,
 Meco il menava in dritta parte volto.
 Sì tosto come in su la soglia fui
 Di mia seconda etade e mutai vita,
 Questi si tolse a me e diessi altrui.
 Quando di carne a spirto era salita,
 E bellezza e virtù cresciuta m' era,
 Fu' io a lui men cara e men gradita :
 E volse i passi suoi per via non vera, 130
 Immagini di ben seguendo false,

124, 125 Beatrice died June 9, 1290 (*Vita Nuova*, § xxx.) She was then in her twenty-fifth year, and therefore, as explained in the note to l. 115, close on the beginning of the 'second age.' *mutai vita*, like 'mutasti mondo,' xxiii. 77.

126 What the literal meaning of this charge may be, we cannot now say. It can hardly refer to Dante's marriage, which, according to mediæval notions, would not be incompatible with continued fidelity to Beatrice, herself a married woman. That there is an allusion to some amour, more or less discreditable, must I think be admitted. Cf. xxxi. 50 ; and see note to xxvii. 49. Allegorically no doubt Dante is reproached for turning away from a life of study and contemplation to the business and pleasures of the world. The year in which the action of the D.C. is placed is that in which he was Prior.

images of good which give back no promise unbroken. Nor did it avail me to obtain inspirations, with the which both in dreams and otherwise I recalled him ; so little heed had he of them. So low he fell that all means were already too short for his salvation, apart from showing him the lost folk. For this man I visited the gate of the dead, and to him who has brought him up hither my prayers, in my weeping, were borne. God's high destiny would be broken if Lethe were passed and such viand were tasted without any scot of repentance which may pour forth tears.'

Che nulla promission rendono intera.
 Nè impetrare spirazion mi valse,ⁱ
 Con le quali ed in sogno ed altrimenti
 Lo rivocai : sì poco a lui ne calse.
 Tanto giù cadde, che tutti argomenti
 Alla salute sua eran già corti,
 Fuor che mostrargli le perdute genti.
 Per questo visitai l' uscio dei morti,
 Ed a colui che l' ha quassù condotto, 140
 Li prieghi miei piangendo furon porti.
 L' alto fato di Dio sarebbe rotto,
 Se Lete si passasse, e tal vivanda
 Fosse gustata senza alcuno scotto
 Di pentimento che lagrime spanda.

ⁱ *impetrare* (alt. from *-ate*) *Gg.* ; *l' impetrare Cass.* 3.

¹³⁴ **sogno.** Cf. the frequent dreams of the Vita Nuova.

¹³⁶ **argomenti** : in much the same sense as in ii. 31, only rather more extended.

¹³⁹ See Inf. ii. 52 sqq.

¹⁴² For this use of **rotto**, cf. i. 46.

CANTO XXXI

ARGUMENT

Beatrice continues to upbraid Dante, speaking now directly to him. He makes confession of his fault ; after which Matilda draws him through the water of Lethe, and he is led to the place where Beatrice is standing. She unveils herself, and he is ravished with her beauty.

‘O THOU that art on that side the sacred stream,’ turning to me with its point her speech, which even with the edge had seemed keen to me, she began again, pursuing without delay, ‘say, say if this is true ; to such accusation it behoves that thy confession be attached.’ My power was so confounded that the voice moved, and was extinct before it was unloosed from its organs. A little while she

O tu, che sei di là dal fiume sacro,
Volgendo suo parlare a me per punta,^a
Che pur per taglio m’ era parut’ acro,
Ricominciò seguendo senza cunta,
Di’, di’, se quest’ è vero : a tanta accusa
Tua confession conviene esser congiunta.
Era la mia virtù tanto confusa,
Che la voce si mosse, e pria si spense,
Che dagli organi suoi fosse dischiusa.

^a *sue parole Gg.*

suffered it, then said : 'What thinkest thou? Answer me, for the sad memories in thee have not yet been overthrown by the water.' Confusion and fear together mingled forced such a 'Yes' forth from my mouth the which to hear the eyes were needed. As an arbalest breaks, when it shoots at too great stretch, its own cord and the bow, and with less violence the bolt touches the mark, so burst I under that

Poco sofferse, poi disse : Che pense? 10
 Rispondi a me ; chè le memorie triste
 In te non sono ancor dall' acqua offense.
 Confusione e paura insieme miste
 Mi pinsero un tal Sì fuor della bocca,
 Al quale intender fur mestier le viste.
 Come balestro frange, quando scocca
 Da troppa tesa, la sua corda e l' arco,^b
 E con men foga l' asta il segno tocca,
 Sì scoppia' io sott' esso grave carco,

^b *Per troppa tesa a la sua Gg.*

¹² **offense.** The use of this word here is somewhat unusual. Blanc explains it by 'tormentato,' with what idea I do not understand. Bianchi, following Benvenuto, has 'scancellate'; Philalethes 'ver-letzet.' Witte merely says 'das Wasser hat nicht genommen.' Dict. Crusc. quotes the passage between two others where simply 'offend' is meant. On the whole it seems best to take it as 'come in contact with,' 'beaten against,' as Lat. 'offendere,' and still more 'offensare' (as Lucr. vi. 1053). The allusion is of course to the water of Lethe. It is curious in this connexion to note that Brunetto, Trésor, i. ch. 125, appears to regard the ancient idea of Lethe as an impious fable. According to some MSS., including that followed by the Italian translator, after relating the legend, he continues : Mais ce sont deceu par le diable malement ; car l'ame est créée à l'ymage de Dieu, et par ce ne puet jamais perdre memoire.

¹⁶ **frange.** Bianchi and Blanc take this as intrans., but it does not appear to be ever so used by Dante. Philalethes has 'sprenget,' and this seems best.

heavy burden, sending forth from my throat tears and sighs, and my voice failed in its passage. Wherefore she to me : 'Within my desires, which were leading thee to love that good beyond the which there is naught to aspire unto, what trenches across the path or what chains didst thou find, for which thou shouldst thus need to put off the hope of passing forward ; and what easement or what furthering showed itself in the countenance of the others for which thou shouldst be obliged to walk before them ?' After the drawing

Fuori sgorgando lagrime e sospiri, 20
 E la voce allentò per lo suo varco.
 Ond' ell' a me : Per entro i miei desiri,
 Che ti menavano ad amar lo bene,
 Di là dal qual non è a che s' aspiri,
 Quai fosse attraversate, o quai catene
 Trovasti, perchè del passare innanzi
 Dovessiti così spogliar la spene ?
 E quali agevolezze, o quali avanzi
 Nella fronte degli altri si mostraro,
 Perchè dovessi lor passeggiar anzi ? 30

²² **per entro.** Cf. xxv. 28. **i miei desiri.** 'I.e. desideria quae habebas ad me in pueritia tua.'—Benv.

²⁹ **gli altri.** 'Dominarum idest scientiarum.'—Benv. But the parallelism of lines 28-30 with the preceding six makes it clear that we must understand **desiri.** The allusion is evidently again twofold : literally, to some passion on Dante's part, figuratively, to his desertion of the contemplative life.

³⁰ **lor passeggiar anzi.** No satisfactory explanation of these words has been given. Benvenuto explains 'idest, sequi eas'—obviously a vague paraphrase. J. della Lana, 'tenestiti all' altre, e quelle volesti studiare.' Blanc takes them to mean, 'go before, as a servant goes in front of his master,' hence 'serve.' Philalethes renders, 'zu ihnen hinzuwandeln'; Bianchi, 'vagheggiar'; Balbo thinks there is an allusion to the coming before the 'gentil donna,' of V. N. § xxxvi.; but there he goes away from before her; Cary has 'that thou elsewhere shouldst

of a bitter sigh hardly had I the voice which answered, and the lips with labour formed it. Weeping, I said: 'The present things with their false pleasures turned away my steps soon as your face was hidden.' And she: 'If thou hadst been silent or hadst denied that which thou confessest, thy fault would not be less noted, by such a judge is it known; but when the accusation of the sin bursts from the sinner's own mouth, in our court the wheel turns back against the edge. At all events, that thou mayest better bear shame

Dopo la tratta d' un sospiro amaro,
 Appena ebbi la voce che rispose,
 E le labbra a fatica la formaro.^c
 Piangendo dissi: Le presenti cose
 Col falso lor piacer volser miei passi,
 Tosto che il vostro viso si nascose.
 Ed ella: Se tacesti, o se negassi
 Ciò che confessi, non fora men nota
 La colpa tua: da tal giudice sassi.
 Ma quando scoppia dalla propria gota
 L' accusa del peccato, in nostra corte,
 Rivolge sè contra il taglio la ruota.
 Tuttavia perchè me' vergogna porte^d

40

^c *la fermaro Cass. 1.*

^d *no verg. Gg. Cass. 145 W.; più v. 23.*

rather wait.' The general meaning is clearly 'What hindrances did you find on the right path, or what helps on the wrong?' It is hard to avoid the conclusion that we have not got quite the right reading of this line.

⁴² The grindstone turns back against that which is being sharpened, 'takes off the edge.'

⁴³ I have followed Blanc, Bianchi, and Philalethes in reading *me'* (= *meglio*), which has MS. authority, and seems to give a better sense.

for thy error, and that a second time hearing the Sirens thou mayest be stronger, lay down the seed of weeping and listen; so shalt thou hear how to the contrary part my body buried ought to have moved thee. Never did nature and art present to thee a pleasure so great as the fair members within which I was enclosed, and which are earth, scattered; and if the highest pleasure so failed thee through my death, what mortal thing ought afterwards to have drawn thee into desire of it? Verily oughtest thou at the

Del tuo errore, e perchè altra volta
 Udendo le sirene sie più forte,
 Pon giù il seme del piangere, ed ascolta;
 Sì udirai come in contraria parte
 Muover doveati mia carne sepolta.
 Mai non t' appresentò natura ed arte
 Piacer, quanto le belle membra in ch' io 50
 Rinchiusa fui, e che son terra sparte: °
 E se il sommo piacer sì ti fallìo
 Per la mia morte, qual cosa mortale
 Dovea poi trarre te nel suo disio?

° *e sono in terra W. ; che sono in Cass. ; e che sono in 2.*

⁴⁶ **il seme del piangere.** Cf. Psalm cxxvi. 7.

⁵¹ **e che son terra.** Witte reads, without apparently much authority, *e sono in terra*. (What is the nominative to *sono*?) Fanfani (Voc. Tosc.) s. v. *parte*, wishes to substitute this, in its Tuscan sense, as in xxi. 19, for *sparte*, and speaks with some truculence of the usual reading; but he gives no authority for his view, nor does *parte* seem to be used of present time. Another reading, and perhaps the best, as far as the sense goes, is *che son in terra*; P. di Dante has 'membris meis nunc in terra dispersis.' There seems, however, not much difficulty in understanding the usual reading. Philaethes, 'und die zerstreut als Staub jetzt,' renders it very well.

first arrow of things deceitful to have raised thee on high after me, who was no more of such sort. Nor should have weighed thy wings downwards to await more strokes, either girl or other vanity with so short using. The young bird awaits two or three, but before the eyes of the full-fledged in vain is net spread or arrow shot.' As boys stand dumb in shame, with their eyes to earth, listening and recollecting themselves and penitent, so was I standing. And she

Ben ti dovevi per lo primo strale
 Delle cose fallaci levar suso
 Diretro a me, che non era più tale.
 Non ti dovea gravar le penne in giuso
 Ad aspettar più colpi, o pargoletta,
 O altra vanità con sì breve uso.^f 60
 Nuovo augelletto due o tre aspetta ;
 Ma dinanzi dagli occhi dei pennuti
 Rete si spiega indarno o si saetta.
 Quali i fanciulli vergognando muti,
 Con gli occhi a terra stannosi ascoltando,
 E sè riconoscendo, e ripentuti ;
 Tal mi stav' io. Ed ella disse : Quando

^f *altra novità Gg.*

⁵⁵ **per lo primo strale.** 'Cioè, pel primo colpo che ti dette lo fortuna, quando ti tolse il mio corpo.'—Land. See the next note.

⁵⁹ **pargoletta.** Here, again, it is impossible to say what is the particular allusion. It is only clear that this **pargoletta** cannot possibly be, as some commentators have hastily assumed, the 'femmina' of xxiv. 43, who was still a child. Some understand it of Beatrice herself, as though she were saying that the *loss* of one maiden ought not so to have affected him, and Philalethes takes the **primo strale** to mean the loss of her. But it is hard to see how this fits the general tone of her remarks.

⁶² Prov. i. 17, where the Vulg. has 'Frustra jacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum.'

said: 'Since through hearing thou art grieved, raise thy beard, and thou shalt receive greater grief seeing.' With less of resistance is uprooted a stout oak, whether with wind of our land or with that from the land of Iarbas, than did I raise at her command my chin. And when by name of the beard she asked for my visage, well knew I the venom of the argument. And as my face opened itself, the sight understood that those first created beings were resting from their strowing; and my eyes, yet little secure, saw Beatrice turned towards the animal, who is only one person in two

Per udir sei dolente, alza la barba,
 E prenderai più doglia riguardando.
 Con men di resistenza si dibarba 70
 Robusto cerro, o vero a nostrai vento,
 O vero a quel della terra d' Iarba,
 Ch' io non levai al suo comando il mento :
 E quando per la barba il viso chiese,
 Ben conobbi il velen dell' argomento.
 E come la mia faccia si distese,
 Posarsi quelle prime creature
 Da loro aspersion l' occhio comprese :
 E le mie luci, ancor poco sicure,
 Vider Beatrice volta in su la fiera, 80
 Ch' è sola una persona in duo nature.

⁷¹ **nostral**. Philaethes reads *austral*, which has little authority; though **nostral**, as denoting a northerly wind, is not very satisfactory. May we read *mastral*, i.q. *maestral*, that is, the mistral, or north-west wind, **quel d. t. d' Iarba**, being the south-east or scirocco?

⁷³ **ch' io non levai**. For this insertion of the negative in a comparison in the Romance languages, see Diez iii. 394.

⁷⁵ Because the allusion was to his mature age.

⁷⁸ **aspersion**. Cf. xxx. 20. Crusc. reads *apparsion*, which has no meaning.

natures. Under her veil, and beyond the stream, she seemed to me to surpass her ancient self, to surpass it more than, when here she was, the others here. So pricked me then the nettle of penitence that of all other things that which most turned me aside in love of it became most hateful to me. Such recognition gnawed my heart that I fell overcome, and what then became of me she knows who gave me the cause.

Then when my heart restored me my outward functions, the dame whom I had found alone I saw above me, and she was saying: 'Hold me, hold me.' She had led me into the stream up to the neck, and drawing me behind her

Sotto suo velo, ed oltre la riviera
 Vincer pareami più sè stessa antica,^g
 Vincer, che l' altre qui, quand' ella c' era.^h
 Di penter sì mi punse ivi l' ortica,
 Che di tutt' altre cose, qual mi torse
 Più nel suo amor, più mi si fe nemica.
 Tanta riconoscenza il cuor mi morse,
 Ch' io caddi vinto, e quale allora femmi,
 Salsi colei che la cagion mi porse. 90
 Poi quando il cuor virtù di fuor rendemmi,
 La Donna ch' io avea trovata sola,
 Sopra me vidi, e dicea: Tiemmi, tiemmi.
 Tratto m' avea nel fiume infino a gola,
 E tirandosi me dietro, sen giva

^g *Verde Ald. Bi.*

^h *quell' altre Gg.*

^{83, 84} *verde*, the reading of most edd. after Aldus, has little or no MS. authority. Witte's suggestion, 'Vincer pareami p. s. s. a. Che vincea l' a.,' seems good, if supported.

⁸⁹ With this swoon compare his unconsciousness before entering Hell (Inf. iii. 135) and Purg. (ix. 59).

was going her way right over the water, light as a shuttle. When I was near the bank of the blessed, *Asperges me* I heard so sweetly that I cannot recall it to mind, far less can write it. The fair dame opened her arms, embraced my head, and plunged me under, where it behoved that I swallowed the water; then she took me up, and, bathed, presented me within the dance of the four fair ones, and each covered me with her arm. 'Here are we nymphs, and in the sky we are stars; before that Beatrice descended

Sovr' esso l' acqua lieve come spola.ⁱ
 Quando fui presso alla beata riva,
Asperges me sì dolcemente udissi,
 Ch' io nol so rimembrar, non ch' io lo scriva.
 La bella donna nelle braccia aprissi, 100
 Abbracciommi la testa, e mi sommerse,
 Ove convenne ch' io l' acqua inghiottissi;
 Indi mi tolse, e bagnato m' offerse
 Dentro alla danza delle quattro belle,
 E ciascuna col braccio mi coperse.
 Noi sem qui ninfe, e nel ciel semo stelle:
 Pria che Beatrice discendesse al mondo,

ⁱ *stola* Gg. Cass. 1234.

⁹⁶ *spola*, the shuttle which carries the woof through the warp. Others read *stola* ('i.e. genus navigii,' Benv.): others again *scola*.

⁹⁸ Psalm li. 7 (l. 8, in the Vulg.), '*Asperges me hyssopo et munda-bor.*'

¹⁰⁰ *nelle braccia aprissi*, lit. 'opened herself in the arms,' a curious construction which Diez appears to have overlooked.

¹⁰⁴ *le quattro*, the ladies who came on the left hand of the car, xxix. 130. They are the cardinal virtues; the *tre* of line 111 being those of xxix. 121; i.e. the theological. Cf. viii. 89.

¹⁰⁶ *stelle*, those spoken of in i. 23.

to the world were we ordained to her for her handmaids. We will lead thee to her eyes, but in the joyous light that is within, thine will the three beyond, who look more deeply, make keen.' Thus singing they began, and next to the breast of the Grifon they led me with them, where Beatrice was standing turned to us. They said: 'See that thou spare not thy gazes; we have placed thee before the emeralds, whence love once took his weapons for thee.' Thousand desires hotter than flame bound my eyes fast to the gleaming eyes, which were remaining fixed only on the

Fummo ordinate a lei per sue ancelle.
 Menrenti agli occhi suoi: ma nel giocondo
 Lume ch' è dentro, aguzzeran li tuoi 110
 Le tre di là, che miran più profondo.
 Così cantando cominciare; e poi
 Al petto del Grifon seco menarmi,
 Ove Beatrice volta stava a noi.
 Disser: Fa che le viste non risparmi:
 Posto t' avem dinanzi agli smeraldi,
 Ond' Amor già ti trasse le sue armi.
 Mille disiri più che fiamma caldi
 Strinsermi gli occhi agli occhi rilucenti,
 Che pur sovra il Grifone stavan sàldi. 120

¹⁰⁸ Cf. De Mon. i. 4 ad fin.: 'speculationi ancillantur.'

¹⁰⁹ **menrenti** = *meneremo ti. occhi*. With this passage Philaethes bids us compare Conv. iii. 8: 'perocchè in quelli due luoghi quasi tutte e tre le nature dell' anima hanno giurisdizione, cioè negli occhi e nella bocca,' and 15: 'qui si conviene sapere che gli occhi della sapienza sono le sue dimostrazioni . . . e 'l suo riso sono le sue persuazioni.' It is by the eyes and smile of Beatrice that Dante is carried forward and instructed in Paradise. See xxvii. 54; also Par. i. 95, 101, ii. 52, iv. 139, xxx. 26, etc.

¹¹¹ **di là**, 'beyond,' i.e. on the right-hand side of the car.

Grifon. As the Sun in the mirror, not otherwise the two-fold animal was beaming therewithin, now with one now with other deportment. Think, reader, if I marvelled when I saw the thing stay quiet in itself, and it was changing itself in its image. While, full of astonishment and happy, my soul was tasting of that food which, sating of itself, of itself makes thirst, showing themselves of the most lofty race in their demeanour, the other three came forward, dancing to their angelic measure. 'Turn, Beatrice, turn thy holy eyes,' was their song, 'to thy faithful one, who to see thee has moved so many paces. Of thy favour do us the

Come in lo specchio il Sol, non altrimenti

La doppia fiera dentro vi raggiava,

Or con uni or con altri reggimenti.

Pensa, lettor, s' io mi maravigliava,

Quando vedea la cosa in sè star queta,

E nell' idolo suo si trasmutava.

Mentre che piena di stupore e lieta

L' anima mia gustava di quel cibo,

Che saziando di sè, di sè asseta :

Sè dimostrando del più alto tribo

130

Negli atti, l' altre tre si fero avanti,

Danzando al loro angelico caribo.

Volgi, Beatrice, volgi gli occhi santi,

Era la sua canzone, al tuo fedele,

Che per vederti ha mossi passi tanti.

¹²³ **reggimenti** are defined in Conv. iii. 7 as among the operations of the rational soul, and as being, together with speech, peculiar to man. Here, of course, the allusion is primarily to the Divine and human nature as contemplated by theology; but the use of the word carries us back to xvi. 128. It is only in Christ that the functions of King and Priest are rightly joined.

¹²⁹ An allusion to Eccles. xxiv. 21 (Vulg.) 'Qui edunt me (sc. sapientiam) adhuc esurient.'

favour to unveil to him thy mouth, so that he may discern the second beauty which thou dost conceal.'

O splendour of eternal living light, who is there that has in such wise grown pale beneath the shadow of Parnassus, or has drunk at its cistern, that he would not seem to have his mind encumbered, trying to render thee as thou appearedst, there where with its harmonies the heaven overshadows thee, when thou didst in the open air disclose thyself?

Per grazia fa noi grazia che disvele
 A lui la bocca tua, sì che discerna
 La seconda bellezza che tu cele.
 O isplendor di viva luce eterna,^k
 Chi pallido si fece sotto l' ombra 140
 Sì di Parnaso, o bevve in sua cisterna,
 Che non paresse aver la mente ingombra,
 Tentando a render te qual tu paresti,
 Là dove armonizzando il ciel t' adombra,
 Quando nell' aere aperto ti solvesti?

^k *O splendor di divina Gg. ; O isplendori div. Cass. ; -or div. [135 ;
 -ore div. 2.*

¹³⁷ **bocca.** See above note, line 109.

¹³⁹ **di viva** has most authority, but the reading of Gg. is perhaps the best, as being most in agreement with Wisdom vii. 26, which was undoubtedly in Dante's mind: Candor est enim lucis aeternae, et speculum sine macula Dei majestatis. With the whole of the present passage cf. Conv. iii. 15.

¹⁴⁰⁻¹⁴³ 'Who has so devoted himself to the poetic art as to have acquired power to tell?'

¹⁴⁴ **adombra.** There is some uncertainty about the meaning of this word here. Witte understands it as 'shadows around,' like the background of a picture. I have followed Bianchi and Blanc. In any case it is hardly necessary to look, as some commentators have done, for a deep symbolical meaning in what appears to be a purely poetical outburst.

CANTO XXXII

ARGUMENT

The procession returns through the forest, Dante and Statius following. They reach a tree, to which the Grifon fastens the car. The tree is strangely transformed, and Dante falls asleep. When he awakes, Beatrice, Matilda, and the seven ladies alone remain. He sees a wondrous vision, setting forth the history of the Church and Empire, and showing what shall shortly come to pass.

So fixed and intent were my eyes to put off the longing of the ten years' thirst that all my other senses were extinguished ; and they themselves had on this hand and on that a wall of unheedingness, so did the holy smile draw them to it with the ancient net ; when perforce my gaze was turned to my left hand by those goddesses, for that I began to

TANTO eran gli occhi miei fissi ed attenti
A disbramarsi la decenne sete
Che gli altri sensi m' eran tutti spenti :
Ed essi quinci e quindi avean parete
Di non caler, così lo santo riso
A sè traèli con l' antica rete :
Quando per forza mi fu volto il viso
Ver la sinistra mia da quelle Dee,

⁵ **di non caler** ; so Conv. iii. 14 : ' messe in non caler. '

⁸ **ver la sinistra mia**, i.e.—as he is facing the car (xxxi. 113)—the three on the right side of it (ib. 111).

hear from them a 'Too fixed.' And the disposition which exists with regard to sight in eyes but lately smitten by the sun caused me to be some while without power of seeing, but after that my sight reformed itself to the lesser object (I say the lesser with respect to the great object of sense, from which by force I removed myself) I saw that the glorious army had wheeled on its right flank, and was returning with the sun and with the seven flames in its face. As under the shields for retreat wheels a troop, and turns

Perch' io udia da loro un : Troppo fiso.
 E la disposizion ch' a veder ee 10
 Negli occhi, pur testè dal sol percossi,
 Senza la vista alquanto esser mi fee :
 Ma poichè al poco il viso riformossi,
 Io dico al poco, per rispetto al molto
 Sensibile, onde a forza mi rimossi,
 Vidi in sul braccio destro esser rivolto
 Lo glorioso esercito, e tornarsi
 Col sole e con le sette fiamme al volto.
 Come sotto li scudi, per salvarsi,

¹⁰ Cf. xvii. 52.

^{13, 14} **poco** and **molto** must refer to the pageant and Beatrice respectively.

¹⁶⁻²⁴ Notice that the leading band (the prophets, etc.) must have turned back since xxx. 9 to their first position. Here they 'counter-march by the right,' exactly as an army would do in the face of an enemy, keeping the shield-arm towards him. Dante must have seen the manœuvre often enough in his soldiering days. The car is evidently suggested by the *carroccio* then in use. (See Sismondi, Rép. It. chap. vi. and Villani vi. 75.)

¹⁸ As they are returning eastwards, and still have the Sun in front, it is clear that all the action since xxvii. 133 has occupied but a very short time.

with the standard, before it is able wholly to face about, that soldiery of the heavenly kingdom which was leading all went past us before the front beam turned the car. Then the ladies returned to the wheels, and the Grifon moved the blessed burthen, yet in such wise that no feather of him shook. The fair dame who drew me to the passage and Statius and I were following the wheel that made its track with a smaller arc. So as we passed through the high wood, empty by fault of her who trusted to the serpent, an angelic strain measured our paces.

Perhaps in three flights an arrow let from the string

Volgesi schiera, e sè gira col segno, 20
 Prima che possa tutta in sè mutarsi ;
 Quella milizia del celeste regno,
 Che precedeva, tutta trapassonne,
 Pria che piegasse il carro il primo legno.
 Indi alle ruote si tornar le donne,
 E il Grifon mosse il benedetto carco,
 Sì che però nulla penna crollonne.^a
 La bella donna che mi trasse al varco,
 E Stazio ed io seguitavam la ruota,
 Che fe l' orbita sua con minore arco. 30
 Sì passeggiando l' alta selva vota,
 Colpa di quella ch' al serpente crese,^b
 Temprava i passi un' angelica nota.
 Forse in tre voli tanto spazio prese

^a *Si che poi* Cass. 124 ; *da poi* 3 ; *collonne* Cass.

^b *attese* G.

²⁴ **primo legno**, the pole.

^{29, 30} I.e. they were to the 'right rear' of the car.

³⁴ **prese**, not quite equal to *avea* or *avrebbe preso*. It is precisely the use of the Greek aorist. See Goodwin, Gr. M. and T. § 30. Cf. xxii. II.

takes such a space as we had removed, when Beatrice alighted. I heard all murmur 'Adam'; then they circled a plant despoiled of flowers and of leafage too on every branch. Its foliage, which spreads the wider as it is higher up, would be wondered at for height by the Indians in their forests. 'Blessed art thou, Grifon, that thou tearest not with thy beak of this wood sweet to the taste, since ill was the belly griped therefrom.' Thus round about the stalwart tree cried the others; and the

Disfrenata saetta, quanto eramo^c

Rimossi, quando Beatrice scese.

Io senti' mormorare a tutti: Adamo:

Poi cerchiaro una pianta dispogliata

Di fiori e d' altra fronda in ciascun ramo.^d

La coma sua, che tanto si dilata

40

Più, quanto più è su, fora dagl' Indi

Nei boschi lor per altezza ammirata.

Beato sei, Grifon, che non discindi

Col becco d' esto legno dolce al gusto,

Posciachè mal si torse il ventre quindi.^e

Così d' intorno all' arbore robusto

^c *Disferrata* Cass. 2; *differrata* 14.

^d *Di foglia* Gg. 3 *Ald.*; *foglie* 124 *Land.*; *con suo ramo* Cass. 124.

^e *storce* Gg.

³⁹ *altra.* So ii. 32, xiv. 44. See Diez iii. 76, and compare 'οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐδέν,' Xen. An. i. 5, 5, and similar uses.

⁴⁰ *coma* is the reading of most MSS. *Ald.* and *Land.* The later edd. have often *chioma*. *cima*, however, is found; and a comparison with xxxiii. 66 would suggest that it may be the right reading. Gg. reads *coma*, 'i.e. cima.' Ottimo explains 'vetta.' With the arrangement of the branches cf. xxii. 133.

animal of two natures: 'Thus is preserved the seed of all righteousness.' And turning to the pole which he had pulled, he drew it to the foot of the widowed branch, and to it he left bound that which was of it. As our plants, when downward falls the great light mingled with that which beams behind the heavenly Carp, grow turgid, and then each renews itself with its own colour before that the Sun yoke his coursers under another star; disclosing a

Gridaron gli altri : e l' animal binato :^f
Sì si conserva il seme d' ogni giusto.
E volto al temo ch' egli avea tirato.
Trasselò al piè della vedova frasca ;
E quel di lei a lei lasciò legato.
Come le nostre piante, quando casca
Giù la gran luce mischiata con quella
Che raggia dietro alla celeste lasca,
Turgide fansi, e poi si rinnovella
Di suo color ciascuna, pria che il Sole
Giunga li suoi corsier sott' altra stella ;

^f *Gridando Gg. Cass. 124; ben nato Gg. (al. binato m.)*

⁴⁸ *sì* ; i.e. by obedience ; perhaps with allusion to St. Matt. iii. 15.
—*giusto* : as in *Inf.* xix. 12.

⁵¹ **quel di lei.** This is variously explained. Primarily it must, I think, allude to the old legend that the cross of Christ, which I take the pole to denote, was made of the wood of the tree of Life. (See Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 181.) Buti has also, according to Philalethes, noticed the same legend. Benv. understands 'tied to it by it; i.e. by a branch'; and explains, Christ by obedience bound the Church to obedience.

⁵⁴ *la celeste lasca* = the sign of the Fish. The light behind it is the Ram, and the meaning is merely, when the Sun is in Aries: 'when the yonge Sonne hath in the Ram his halfe cours yronne.'

colour less than of roses and more than of violets, the plant renewed itself which before had had its branches so desert. I understood it not, nor here is sung the hymn which that folk then sang, nor did I endure the strain throughout. If I could portray in what wise fell asleep the pitiless eyes at hearing the tale of Syrinx, the eyes to which too great watchfulness cost so dear, as a painter who paints with a model would I represent how I went to sleep; but whoso

Men che di rose, e più che di viole,
 Colore aprendo, s' innovò la pianta,^g
 Che prima avea le ramora sì sole. 60
 Io non lo intesi, nè qui non si canta^h
 L' inno che quella gente allor cantaro,
 Nè la nota sofferarsi tutta quanta.
 S' io potessi ritrar come assonnaro
 Gli occhi spietati, udendo di Siringa,
 Gli occhi a cui più vegghiar costò sì caro;ⁱ
 Come pintor che con esempio pinga,
 Disegnerei com' io m'addormentai:

^g *si nuova Gg. ; nuovo Cass. 3.*

^h *e qui già non Gg. Land. ; e qui non Cass. W. ; ne qui non sì 5 ;
 ne' di qua ed. 1578 ; nè quaggiù Ald. Bi.*

ⁱ *pur vegliar Gg. ; vegghiar 124.*

⁵⁸ The point of this is very obscure. Benv. thinks it means that the atonement, while reconciling man to God, did not restore him to absolute innocence. But this seems far-fetched.

⁶⁰ **ramora** ; for this and similar forms, see Diez ii. 26.

⁶¹ The readings vary a good deal. *nè quaggiù* seems to want MS. authority. **nè qui non**, which is the reading of five out of the first six edd., seems the best. For the double negative, see Diez iii. 389, 390. Witte's *e qui non* makes the line a syllable short.

⁶⁴ Ovid Met. i. 678-723.

would do it let him be able well to represent slumber. Wherefore I pass on to when I awoke, and I say that a brightness tore for me the veil of my sleep, and a call: 'Arise! what doest thou?'

As, led to behold of the flowerets of the apple which makes the angels greedy of its fruit and makes everlasting wedding in heaven, and overcome, Peter and John and James came to themselves at the word whereby greater slumbers were broken, and beheld their band diminished by Moses, even as by Elias, and the raiment of their Master

Ma qual vuol sia che l' assonnar ben finga :
 Però trascorro a quando mi svegliai ; 70
 E dico, ch' un splendor mi squarciò il velo
 Del sonno, ed un chiamar : Surgi, che fai ?
 Quale a veder dei fioretti del melo,
 Che del suo pomo gli Angeli fa ghiotti,
 E perpetue nozze fa nel Cielo,
 Pietro e Giovanni e Iacopo condotti
 E vinti, ritornaro alla parola,
 Dalla qual furon maggior sonni rotti,
 E videro scemata loro scuola,
 Così di Moisè come d' Elia, 80
 Ed al Maestro suo cangiata stola ;

⁶⁹ 'Let it be that he well represent.' *assonnar*. Philaethes remarks that Dante himself has succeeded in doing this better than any one, in xviii. 141.

⁷³ The 'apple' is Christ, with allusion to Canticles ii. 3; the 'flowers' are the foretaste of His glory, as seen by the Apostles at the Transfiguration; the 'fruit' is its full fruition in Heaven.

⁷⁹ *loro* for *suo*. Diez iii. 55, 65. (He is rather meagre.) Corticelli, Ling. Tosc. p. 55, says that when more than one person is the subject of the sentence, *loro* is the better use.

changed; so came I to myself, and saw that kindly one standing over me who was before conductress of my steps along the stream; and all in doubt I said: 'Where is Beatrice?' And she: 'Behold her underneath the new foliage, sitting on its root. Behold the company which surrounds her; the others are going their way on high after the Grifon, with sweeter song and more profound.' And if her speech was further poured forth I know not, because already I had in view her who had closed me to hearing aught else. She was sitting alone on the very ground, as

Tal torna' io : e vidi quella pia
 Sovra me starsi, che conduttrice
 Fu dei miei passi lungo il fiume pria :
 E tutto in dubbio dissi : Ov' è Beatrice ?
 Ed ella : Vedi lei sotto la fronda
 Nuova sedersi in su la sua radice.
 Vedi la compagnia che la circonda : ^k
 Gli altri dopo il Grifon sen vanno suso,
 Con più dolce canzone e più profonda. 90
 E se fu più lo suo parlar diffuso,
 Non so : perocchè già negli occhi m' era
 Quella ch' ad altro intender m' avea chiuso.
 Sola sedeasi in su la terra vera,

^k *seconda Cass. 124.*

⁹⁰ In allusion to Rev. xiv. 3.

⁹⁴ **vera.** The meaning of this word has been a good deal discussed, and various interpretations suggested, of which Vellutello's 'perchè la Theologia è fondata sopra la vera e non fitta humiltà' is no better nor worse than the average. The annotator of Gg. says 'ubi arbor scientiae boni.' Witte compares Inf. ii. 23, and thinks it means that the Roman empire (denoted by the Tree) was the true seat of the Church. He renders by 'wahrhaft,' Philalethes by 'echt.' All these seem to me to

guardian left there of the wain which I saw the two-formed animal tie. In circle were making of themselves an enclosure to her the seven nymphs, with those lights in their hands which are secure from Aquilo and Auster. 'Here thou shalt be a little time a woodman, and with me shalt thou be without end a citizen of that Rome whereof Christ is a Roman; wherefore, to the profit of the world which lives ill, keep now thine eyes on the car, and what thou seest, when thou art returned yonder, see that thou write.' Thus

Come guardia lasciata lì del plaustro,
 Che legar vidi alla biforme fiera.
 In cerchio le facevan di sè claustro
 Le sette Ninfe con quei lumi in mano,
 Che son sicuri d' Aquilone e d' Austro.
 Qui sarai tu poco tempo silvano,¹ 100
 E sarai meco senza fine cive
 Di quella Roma onde Cristo è Romano :
 Però in pro del mondo che mal vive,
 Al carro tieni or gli occhi, e quel che vedi,
 Ritornato di là fa che tu scrive.

¹ *starai* Cass. 14.

make too much of what is probably only an 'epitheton ornans.' At the same time there may be something of the same idea as in xiii. 95 and xvi. 96. Other readings are *mera* and *nera*.

⁹⁶ *legar vidi alla f.* Cf. l. 37, and see note to viii. 106. *alla* must not be regarded as = *dalla*.

¹⁰⁰ *silvano*. Is there not a suggestion of *foresta*, *forestiere*, connecting the thought with that of xiii. 96? *qui* signifies 'in this world,' denoted by the earthly Paradise. 'Beatitudinem hujus vitae, quae . . . per terrestrem paradisum figuratur,' De Mon. iii. 15.

¹⁰² Cf. for a variation of the expression xxvi. 129.

¹⁰³ Cf. xvi. 103.

¹⁰⁵ Copied from Rev. i. 11.

Beatrice, and I who at the feet of her commands was all devoted, set my mind and my eyes where she would have. Never descended with such swift motion fire from a thick cloud when rain is falling from that boundary which is most remote, as I beheld the bird of Jove swoop downward through the tree, rending of the bark, much more the flowers and the new leaves; and he smote the car with all

Così Beatrice : ed io che tutto ai piedi
 Dei suoi comandamenti era devoto,
 La mente e gli occhi, ov' ella volle, diedi.
 Non scese mai con sì veloce moto
 Fuoco di spessa nube, quando piove 110
 Da quel confine che più è remoto,^m
 Com' io vidi calar l' uccel di Giove
 Per l' arbor giù, rompendo della scorza,
 Non che dei fiori e delle foglie nuove,
 E ferì il carro di tutta sua forza ;

^m *più va Gg. Cass. 3 W. ; più ha 124.*

¹⁰⁹⁻¹¹¹ Lightning is generated in those clouds which approach nearest to the sphere of fire (the lower limit of which is at the level of the entrance to Purgatory; cf. xxi. 46 sqq.) πυκνοτέρας τῆς συνστάσεως τῶν νεφῶν γιγνομένης πρὸς τὸ ἔσχατον πέρας.—Aristotle Meteor. ii. 9. Beyond this clouds do not go; it is therefore their remotest boundary. Bianchi takes **piove** in the sense in which curiously enough it is most often used by Dante, of 'falls,' and understands it of the lightning. But it seems best, with the great majority of interpreters, to take it in its literal sense. On the other hand I have followed him in reading, with most of the early edd., **più è**, instead of the **più va** which many MSS. give. The **v** may easily have slipped in from **piove** in the line before, and then **piuue** would have got altered to **piuua**. The doubt between **è** and **va** in line 41 may also have affected the readings here; but **va** has there a meaning, while it is hard to see how a fixed boundary can be said to 'go more remote.'

his force, whereat it reeled, as a ship in a tempest overcome by the waves, now to starboard now to larboard. Next I saw come into the hollow of the triumphal chariot a vixen, which from all good food appeared fasting ; but reproaching her with loathly sins, my lady turned her to such flight as the fleshless bones allowed. Next, from thence, whence it had before come, I saw the eagle come down into the ark of the car, and leave it feathered from itself. And as comes from a heart that is embittered, such a voice issued from

Ond' ei piegò, come nave in fortuna,
 Vinta dall' onda or da poggia or da orza.
 Poscia vidi avventarsi nella cuna ⁿ
 Del trionfal veicolo una volpe,
 Che d' ogni pasto buon pareva digiuna. 120
 Ma riprendendo lei di laide colpe,
 La donna mia la volse in tanta futa,
 Quanto sofferson l' ossa senza polpe.
 Poscia per indi ond' era pria venuta,
 L' aquila vidi scender giù nell' arca
 Del carro, e lasciar lei di sè pennuta.^o
 E qual' esce di cuor che si rammarca,
 Tal voce uscì del Cielo, e cotal disse :

ⁿ *per la Gg. ; ver la 3.*

^o *così pen. Cass.*

¹¹⁶ **fortuna.** Littré gives several examples of the use of *fortune* in this sense. It appears to have been almost a technical term. Thus Froissart : 'Il eut une fortune de vent sur mer.' So in the sonnet, 'Guido, vorrei,' l. 5.

¹¹⁷ **poggia** and **orza** appear to be rather the sheets, than, as most commentators say, the braces.

¹²⁸ **voce** ; of St. Peter. Benvenuto tells a story, which Witte also mentions as a legend current in early ages, that at the time of Constantine's donation a voice had been heard to cry from heaven : 'Hodie

Heaven and spoke thus: 'O my 'ship, how ill art thou freighted!' Then it appeared to me that the earth opened herself between the two wheels, and I saw issue therefrom a dragon, who fixed his tail up through the car; and, like a wasp which draws back its sting, drawing to himself the malignant tail, he drew part of the floor, and went his way rambling about. That which remained, like ground alive with herbage, covered itself again with the feathers, offered haply with sound and benign intention, and was covered

O navicella mia, com' mal sei carica! ^P
 Poi parve a me che la terra s' aprisse 130
 Tr' ambo le rote, e vidi uscirne un drago,^q
 Che per lo carro su la coda fisse:
 E come vespa che ritragge l' ago,
 A sè traendo la coda maligna,
 Trasse del fondo, e gissen vago vago.
 Quel che rimase, come di gramigna
 Vivace terra, della piuma, offerta
 Forse con intenzion sana e benigna,^r
 Si ricoperse e funne ricoperta

^P *co mal Gg. Cass.*

^q *indi Gg.*

^r *casta e b. Ald. Bi.*

diffusum est venenum in ecclesia Dei'; and cf. Inf. xix. 115. It must be remembered that no doubt existed in Dante's time as to the genuineness of the donation; and it was not until the next century that the fiction was exposed by Valla. See Gibbon, chap. xlix.

¹²⁹ **com'** for **come** is not very satisfactory, though there are instances of it; none, however, before a word beginning with *m*. If we read **co**, may it not stand for *ecco*, as in *coloro*, etc.?

¹³⁴⁻¹³⁵ Cf. Rev. xii. 4.

¹³⁵ For **di** in a 'partitive' sense, cf. ll. 113, 114, and see Diez iii. 149. The repetition of **vago** shows that it must here be in the less usual meaning of 'vagus,' not as some have thought 'greedy.'

¹³⁸ Cf. Par. xx. 56.

again therewith, both one and the other wheel and the pole, in so long time that the open mouth longer holds a sigh. Transformed thus the holy edifice put forth heads through its parts, three over the pole and one in every corner. The first were horned like an ox, but the four had a single horn on the forehead; a like prodigy was never yet seen. Secure as a fortress on a lofty mountain, meseemed there sat thereon a dishevelled harlot, with eyelids quick to move around. And, as if in order that she should not

E l' una e l' altra ruota e il temo in tanto, 140
 Che più tiene un sospir la bocca aperta.
 Trasformato così il dificio santo
 Mise fuor teste per le parti sue,
 Tre sovra il temo, ed una in ciascun canto.
 Le prime eran cornute come bue,
 Ma le quattro un sol corno avean per fronte :
 Simile mostro visto ancor non fue.^s
 Sicura, quasi rocca in alto monte,
 Seder sovr' esso una puttana sciolta
 M' apparve con le ciglia intorno pronte. 150
 E come perchè non li fosse tolta,

^s *ancor visto Gg.; v. anco Cass.; s. in nostra vista 124; in vista mai Ald.; visto mai Bi.*

¹⁴³ For the seven heads and ten horns, cf. Rev. xiii. 1, and xvii. 9, 12. The harlot is taken from xvii. 3. There is a similar allusion, Inf. xix. 106.

¹⁴⁷ It is not easy to see how Dante, when obviously taking the idea of these seven heads from the beast seen by St. John, can have said that 'the like had never been seen.' I have followed the usually accepted reading, **Simile mostro visto** (or **in vista**) **mai** (or **ancor**) **non fue**, but it is very probable that 1, 2, and 4 are right in reading **simile in nostra vista**. Or is **mai** corrupt? **Simile m. in vista mia** would give a good sense.

be taken from him, I saw beside her upright a giant, and they kissed together a certain while ; but because she turned her lustful and roving eye to me, that fierce paramour scourged her from the head even to the soles of her feet. Then, full of jealousy and cruel with rage, he cast loose the monster, and drew it through the wood so far that only with it he shielded from me the harlot and the new-made beast.

Vidi di costa a lei dritto un gigante,
 E baciavansi insieme alcuna volta.
 Ma perchè l' occhio cupido e vagante
 A me rivolse, quel feroce drudo
 La flagellò dal capo insin le piante.
 Poi di sospetto pieno e d' ira crudo
 Disciolse il mostro, e trassel per la selva
 Tanto che sol di lei mi fece scudo
 Alla puttana ed alla nuova belva.

160

¹⁵⁸ alcuna volta ; not, I think, as it is usually rendered 'several times,' but as in xxiv. 65. So *lunga fiata*, in xxx. 27, and elsewhere.

¹⁵⁹ I.e. so far that the wood alone was enough to hide them from me.

CANTO XXXIII

ARGUMENT

They proceed a little distance, and Beatrice explains that the vision will shortly be fulfilled, and prophesies of one who will restore the Empire. It is midday, and Matilda leads Dante and Statius to drink of the water of Eunoè, which makes them fit to ascend to Heaven.

DEUS, venerunt gentes, now three, now four in alternation, a sweet psalmody, the ladies began, weeping; and Beatrice, sighing and pitiful, listened to them in such guise that little more did Mary change herself at the cross. But after that the other maidens gave place to her to speak, risen upright on her feet she made answer, being in hue like to fire:

DEUS, venerunt gentes, alternando,
Or tre or quattro, dolce salmodia
Le donne incominciaron lagrimando.
E Beatrice sospirosa e pia
Quelle ascoltava sì fatta, che poco
Più alla croce si cambiò Maria.
Ma poichè l' altre vergini dier loco
A lei di dir, levata dritta in piè
Rispose, colorata come fuoco:

¹ *Deus venerunt.* Psalm lxxix. 1.

² *come fuoco*, i.e. with the colour of love. See note xix. 14.

'*Modicum et non videbitis me, et iterum*, my beloved sisters, *modicum et vos videbitis me.*' Then she put them all seven in front of her, and after her, only making a sign, she caused to go me and the Dame and the Sage who remained. Thus she moved away, and I do not think that her tenth step had been placed on the ground when with her eyes she smote my eyes, and with calm aspect: 'Come more quickly,' she said to me, 'so much that if I speak with thee thou mayest be well placed to listen to me.' So soon as I was, as was my duty, with her, she said to me: 'Brother, why dost thou not attempt to inquire, now that thou art coming with me?' As befalls those who being over-reverent before their

Modicum, et non videbitis me :

10

Et iterum, sorelle mie dilette,

Modicum, et vos videbitis me.

Poi le si mise innanzi tutte e sette :

E dopo sè, solo accennando mosse

Me e la donna e il savio che ristette.

Così sen giva, e non credo che fosse

Lo decimo suo passo in terra posto,

Quando con gli occhi gli occhi mi percosse,

E con tranquillo aspetto : Vien più tosto,

Mi disse, tanto che s' io parlo teco,

20

Ad ascoltarmi tu sie ben disposto.

Sì com' io fui, com' io doveva, seco,

Dissemi : Frate, perchè non t' attenti

A dimandar omai venendo meco ?

Come a color che troppo reverenti

¹⁰ St. John xvi. 16.

¹⁵ **il savio.** Statius, who has been with them all the time.

²⁵ Cf. xxxi. 7.

betters are in act to speak, that they bring not the voice alive to the teeth, it befell me that I began without perfect sound: 'My lady, my care you know, and that which for it is good.' And she to me: 'From fear and from shame I will that thou henceforward disenfold thyself, so that thou speak no more as one who dreams. Thou knowest that the vessel which the serpent broke was and is not, but let him who has the blame thereof believe that God's vengeance fears not sops. For all time without heir the eagle will not

Dinanzi a suo maggior parlando sono,
 Che non traggon la voce viva a' denti,
 Avvenne a me, che senza intero suono
 Incominciai: Madonna, mia bisogna
 Voi conoscete e ciò ch' ad essa è buono. 30
 Ed ella a me: Da tema e da vergogna
 Voglio che tu omai ti disviluppe,
 Sì che non parli più com' uom che sogna.
 Sappi che il vaso, che il serpente ruppe,
 Fu, e non è: ma chi n' ha colpa creda
 Che vendetta di Dio non teme suppe.
 Non sarà tutto tempo senza reda ^a

^a *Non sarà d' ogni t. Gg.*

³⁵ **fu, e non è**, from Rev. xvii. 8.

³⁶ **non teme suppe**. Alluding to the superstition, current in Florence in the Middle Ages, that if a murderer could contrive within eight days after the crime to eat a piece of bread dipped in wine (or any food, say some), on his victim's grave, he would escape the relations' vengeance. See Fauriel, Dante, vol. i. p. 535. The idea here is probably like Horace's 'Venena fas nefasque non valent convertere.' Epod. v. 87.

³⁷ **sanza reda**. Because in Dante's view there had been no real emperor since the death of Frederick II. Cf. Conv. iv. 3, where Frederick is called 'ultimo imperadore de' Romani, per rispetto a tempo presente.'

be who left his feathers on the car, whereby it became a monster and afterward a prey; for I see certainly, and therefore I tell it, stars secure from all assault and all hindrance, already near to give us a time, in the which a five hundred, ten, and five, sent by God shall slay the runagate, together with that giant who sins with her. And it may be that my tale, dark like Themis and Sphinx, persuades thee less, because after their fashion it chokes the understand-

L' aquila che lasciò le penne al carro :
 Per chè divenne mostro e poscia preda.
 Ch' io veggio certamente, e però il narro, 40
 A darne tempo già stelle propinque
 Sicure d' ogni intoppo e d' ogni sbarro :^b
 Nel quale un cinquecento diece e cinque
 Messo di Dio anciderà la fuia,
 Con quel gigante che con lei delinque.
 E forse che la mia narrazion buia,
 Qual Temi e Sfinge, men ti persuade,^c
 Perch' a lor modo lo intelletto attua :

^b ogni stroppio Gg.

^c spinge Gg. Cass. 1234; e me ti Gg.; me ti Cass. 124.

⁴¹ stelle. Cf. xx. 13. See Appendix B.

⁴⁴ fuia. 'sc. meretricem,' says the annotator of Gg.; but this is probably an explanation, not a translation. 'Räuberin,' Witte, with whom Blanc agrees. 'Vettel,' Philalethes. But see Glossary.

⁴⁷ qual Temi e Sfinge. The allusion is to Ovid Met. vii. 758 sqq. 'Carmina Laiades non intellecta priorum solverat ingeniis,' etc., where, until emended into this form by Heinsius, all edd., following a blunder of the MSS., read 'Naiades—solvunt.' The attempts to justify the accuracy of the older reading by reference to Pausanias, Lactantius, and others, are obviously futile, if only because the pluperf. *solverat* is nearly as much needed as the name of Oedipus.

ing; but soon the facts will be the Naiades, who will solve this hard riddle, without scathe of flocks or of corn. Do thou mark, and in such wise as from me are borne these words, so teach them to those who live with the life which is a race unto death; and bear in mind, when thou writest them, not to conceal what thou hast seen the plant, which has now been twice plundered here. Whosoever robs that or strips it offends God with blasphemy of act, for to His own use only He created it holy. For biting that, in pain and in desire five thousand years and more the first soul longed for Him who in His own self avenged the bite. Asleep is thy wit if thou judge not that

Ma tosto fien li fatti le Naiade,^d
 Che solveranno questo enigma forte, 50
 Senza danno di pecore e di biade.
 Tu nota; e sì come da me son porte
 Queste parole, sì le insegna a' vivi
 Del viver ch'è un correre alla morte;
 Ed aggi a mente, quando tu le scrivi,
 Di non celar qual hai vista la pianta,
 Ch'è or due volte dirubata quivi.
 Qualunque ruba quella o quella schianta,
 Con bestemmia di fatto offende Dio,
 Che solo all'uso suo la creò santa. 60
 Per morder quella, in pena e in disio
 Cinquemil'anni e più, l'anima prima
 Bramò colui che il morso in sè punìo.
 Dorme lo ingegno tuo, se non istima

^d *fier le fate Cass.; fien le fate e 5.*

⁵⁷ First by the eagle, secondly by the separation from it of the car 'which was of it' (xxxii. 51).

for a special reason it is so high, and so spread at the top. And if thy vain thoughts had not been as water of Elsa around thy mind, and their pleasure as Pyramus to the mulberry tree, through so great circumstances only hadst thou recognised with thy moral sense the justice of God in the interdict upon the tree. But because I see thee in thy understanding made of stone, and of stony tint, so that the

Per singular cagione essere eccelsa
 Lei tanto, e sì travolta nella cima.^e
 E se stati non fossero acqua d' Elsa
 Li pensier vani intorno alla tua mente,
 E il piacer loro un Piramo alla gelsa ;
 Per tante circostanze solamente 70
 La giustizia di Dio nello interdetto
 Conosceresti all' alber moralmente.
 Ma perch' io veggio te nello intelletto
 Fatto di pietra e di petrato tinto,^f

^e tanto sì tr. essere in c. Gg.

^f in petrato t. Gg. Cass. Bi.; petrato 3; impietrato 124;
 ed impietrato, t. W.; cinto 14.

⁶⁶ Cf. the tree in xxii. 133.

⁶⁷ sqq. The river Elsa in Tuscany was reputed to have a petrifying power. Fazio, Dittam. iii. 8, says that people made columns by putting long thin beams into it till they got encrusted with stone. The mulberry was white until the blood of Pyramus stained it (xxvii. 39). The meaning therefore is: 'If your mind had not been hardened and its purity lost, by reason of worldly cares and pleasures, you would have understood, from what has happened to the tree, the justice of God in forbidding any hand to be laid on it.' For the meaning, in connection with the whole allegory, see Appendix B.

⁷⁴ Witte's *impietrato*, *tinto*, seems rather clumsy. I venture to adopt a variant given by him. Cf. xiii. 9, for the colour of stone. It is possible, however, that no reading involving a repetition of **pietra** is correct. The line is obviously intended to correspond with the **acqua**

light of my word dazzles thee, I will moreover—and if not written, at least depicted—that thou bear it away within thee for that wherefore the staff circled with palm is taken.’ And I: ‘As wax by a seal, which changes not the figure impressed, so is my brain now stamped by you. But why so far above my view flies your desired speech, that more it loses it the more it strives?’ ‘That thou mayest know,’ said she, ‘that school which thou hast followed, and mayest see how its doctrine is able to follow my speech, and mayest

Sì che t’abbaglia il lume del mio detto ;
 Voglio anche, e se non scritto, almen dipinto,
 Che il te ne porti dentro a te per quello,
 Che si reca il bordon di palma cinto.
 Ed io : Sì come cera da suggello,
 Che la figura impressa non trasmuta, 80
 Segnato è or da voi lo mio cervello.^g
 Ma perchè tanto sovra mia veduta
 Vostra parola disiata vola,
 Che più la perde quanto più s’ aiuta ?
 Perchè conoschi, disse, quella scuola,
 Ch’ hai seguitata, e veggì sua dottrina
 Come può seguitar la mia parola ;

^g *Segn. ho io di voi Gg.*

d’ Elsa and gelsa above. A v.l. *in peccato* (‘died to the hue of sin’) exists; and this, if supported by any good MS. authority, would be much better. Cf. Inf. x. 86: *colorata in rosso*.

⁷⁶ I.e. if not put in words at least figured in your mind.

^{77, 78} I.e. in memory of the places which you have visited. For the different kinds of pilgrims, see V. N. § xli.

⁷⁹ Dante is fond of this metaphor, borrowed from Aristotle, of the seal and the wax. Cf. x. 45, xviii. 39.

⁸⁴ s’ aiuta. Cf. xii. 130.

⁸⁷ come, i.e. how little.

see that your way is from God's way so far apart as is distant from earth the heaven, which speeds the highest.' Wherefore I answered her: 'It comes not to my mind that I estranged myself ever from you, nor have I conscience thereof to prick me.' 'And if thou canst not remember thee thereof,' smiling she answered, 'now bethink thee how thou hast this day drunk of Lethe; and if from the smoke fire is argued, this forgetfulness clearly concludes a fault in thy will intent elsewhere. But truly henceforth my words will be plain so far as shall behove to uncover them to thy untrained sight.'

E veggi vostra via dalla divina
 Distar cotanto, quanto si discorda
 Da terra il ciel che più alto festina. 90
 Ond' io risposi lei: Non mi ricorda
 Ch' io straniassi me giammai da voi,^h
 Nè honne coscienza che rimorda.
 E se tu ricordar non te ne puoi,
 Sorridendo, rispose, or ti rammenta
 Come bevesti di Letè ancoi:
 E se dal fummo fuoco s' argomenta,
 Cotesta oblivion chiaro conchiude
 Colpa nella tua voglia altrove attenta.
 Veramente oramai saranno nude 100
 Le mie parole, quanto converrassi
 Quelle scovrire alla tua vista rude.

^h *straviassi* Gg. (alt. to *stran.*); Cass.

88, 89 Isaiah lv. 8, 9.

⁹⁶ sqq. Because Lethe only takes away the memory of *faults*.

And more flashing and with slower pace the Sun was holding the meridian circle, which sets itself here and there according as you observe it, when halted (as halts he who goes before a troop by way of escort, if he finds aught new in his track) the seven dames, at the end of a pale shadow, such as under green leaves and black boughs the Alps bear above their cool brooks. In front of them meseemed I saw Euphrates and Tigris issue from one fount, and, like friends, separate slowly. 'O light, O glory of the race of men, what water is this which here displays itself from one

E più corrusco, e con più lenti passi
 Teneva il sole il cerchio di merigge,
 Che qua e là, come gli aspetti, fassi,
 Quando s' affisser, sì come s' affigge
 Chi va dinanzi a schiera per iscorta,
 Se truova novitate in sue vestigge,
 Le sette donne al fin d' un' ombra smorta,
 Qual sotto foglie verdi e rami nigri, 110
 Sovra suoi freddi rivi l' Alpe porta.
 Dinanzi ad esse Eufrates e Tigris
 Veder mi parve uscir d' una fontana,
 E quasi amici dispartirsi pigri.
 O luce, O gloria della gente umana,ⁱ
 Che acqua è questa che qui si dispiega

ⁱ *mente um. Gg.*

¹⁰³ **più lenti.** The sun seems to travel slower when it is high, because the shadows change less in a given time than they do when it is near the horizon.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. varies with the longitude. **aspetti**, like 'leve,' xxv. 39.

¹¹² Boethius v. Metr. 1 :

Tigris et Euphrates uno se fonte resolvunt,
 Et mox abjunctis dissociantur aquis.

beginning and parts itself from itself?' For such prayer it was said to me: 'Pray Matilda that she tell it thee.' And here replied, as he does who sets him free from blame, the fair lady: 'This and other things have been told him by me; and I am sure that the water of Lethe has not hidden them from him.' And Beatrice: 'Perchance a greater care, which oftentimes takes away memory, has made his mind dim in the eyes. But behold Eunoè which there flows down; lead thou him to it, and as thou art wont quicken again his virtue partly dead.' As a noble soul that makes not excuse, but makes its will of the will of another, so soon as by a sign it is outwardly disclosed; in such wise, after I had been taken by her, the fair lady

Da un principio, e sè da sè lontana?
 Per cotal prego detto mi fu: Prega
 Matelda, che il ti dica: e qui rispose,
 Come fa chi da colpa si dislega, 120
 La bella donna: Questo ed altre cose
 Dette li son per me: e son sicura
 Che l' acqua di Letè non gliel nascose.
 E Beatrice: Forse maggior cura,
 Che spesse volte la memoria priva,
 Fatto ha la mente sua negli occhi oscura.
 Ma vedi Eunoè che là deriva:
 Menalo ad esso, e come tu sei usa,
 La tramortita sua virtù ravviva.
 Com' anima gentil che non fa scusa, 130
 Ma fa sua voglia della voglia altrui,
 Tosto com' è per segno fuor dischiusa:
 Così poi che da essa preso fui,

¹¹⁹ Matilda's name is here mentioned for the first time.

moved, and to Statius said in manner as a lady: 'Come with him.'

If I had, reader, longer space to write, I should sing, at all events in part, the sweet draught which never would have sated me; but, for that all the sheets put in frame for this second Canticle are full, the bridle of my art lets me go no further. I turned back from the most holy wave reflect in such wise as new plants renewed with new foliage, pure and disposed to mount up to the stars.

La bella donna mossesi, ed a Stazio
 Donnescamente disse: Vien con lui.
 S' io avessi, lettor, più lungo spazio^k
 Da scrivere, io pur cantere' in parte
 Lo dolce ber che mai non m' avria sazio
 Ma perchè piene son tutte le carte
 Ordite a questa cantica seconda,
 Non mi lascia più ir lo fren dell' arte.
 Io ritornai dalla santissima onda
 Rifatto sì, come piante novelle
 Rinnovellate di novella fronda,
 Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle.

140

^k *più largo Gg.*

¹³⁸ Cf. xxxi. 129.

¹⁴⁵ See note Inf. xxxiv. 139

APPENDIX A

(NOTE TO CANTO XXVII.)

THE DREAMS OF CANTOS IX. XIX. AND XXVII.

SINCE of the three divisions of the future world it is Purgatory alone in which *time* can be said to have any place, it is natural that there alone we should find the ordinary division of time into days and nights still existing. For the shades, who, being free from the physical burden of the flesh, have no need of physical repose, the change from day to night merely causes a change in the subjects of their penitential meditation ; but the human traveller, with Adam's part still in him, needs rest no less than on earth. Accordingly, as has been seen, a part of each night is spent by Dante in sleep ; and each night his sleep is visited by a dream. From their position in the poem, marking as it were the passage from the events of one day to those of the next, it can hardly be doubted that they are intended as a kind of prelude to what is about to follow. In the case of the last, indeed, he not only tells us as much (xxvii. 93), but makes it clear by the occupation of Matilda in the next Canto, exactly reproducing that of Leah in the dream. But with regard to the two former dreams, that of the Eagle and that of the Siren, this *prefatory* character is less obvious on the surface, and accordingly seems to have escaped most or all of those who have commented on them. Philalethes, for example, says ' In der ersten Nacht am Thore des Purgatoriums, erscheint ihm Lucia (this is hardly correct, for she does not appear to Dante) die *gratia praeveniens* oder *operans*, in der zweiten Nacht in der Mitte der büssenden Kreise sieht er den Kampf des Menschen mit der Sinnlichkeit und seine Unterstützung durch die mitwirkende Gnade (*gratia cooperans*), und hier im Eingange des irdischen Paradieses hat er einen dritten Traum, dessen Bedeutung sich als auf den Zustand der Vollendung [sc. der Rechtfertigung] deutend zeigen wird.' It will be seen that in this brief summary he follows the older commentators, such

as Landino, who talk much of prevenient, illuminant, and co-operant Grace. I should be far from saying that their interpretations are incorrect; but, as we are told¹ by Dante himself that the poem is 'polysemous,' we are surely at liberty to find another, and as it would seem, more significant interpretation.

In considering the three dreams, and Dante's mode of narrating them, one point of resemblance will be at once observed. Each takes place immediately before the dawn: 'cum somnia vera'; 'presso al mattin di ver si sogna'; and in each the hour is indicated by the introduction, beginning in every case with the words 'Nell' ora' (which, with one exception, occur nowhere else in D.C.), and having reference to some natural phenomenon. It is the hour 'when the swallow begins her song,' 'when the earth is chilliest,' 'when Venus first beamed on the mount.' This makes it pretty clear that Dante intended the dream in each case to be associated with the experiences of the day at the opening of which it is placed; and a little closer consideration will perhaps throw light on the nature of the association. The line with which Leah ends seems to contain the key to the whole: 'Lei lo vedere, e me l' ovrare appaga.' The division of *ἐνέργειαι* into *πρακτικαὶ* and *θεωρητικαὶ*, active and contemplative, is expounded by Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* i. 5, and x. 7, 8. The latter passage Dante himself discusses in *Conv.* ii. 5, where he decides that 'questa (the contemplative) vita è più divina.' Here, as elsewhere, he is the obedient disciple of 'the master of all human reason,' 'the master of those who know.' Again, in *Conv.* iv. 22, he says: 'L' uso del nostro animo è doppio, cioè pratico e speculativo. Quello del pratico si è operare per noi vertuosamente, cioè onestamente, con prudenzia, con temperanza, con fortezza, e con giustizia; quello dello speculativo si è non operare per noi, ma considerare l' opere di Dio e della natura.' See also *De Mon.* iii. 15: 'Duos fines Providentia illa enarrabilis homini proposuit intendendos, beatitudinem scilicet hujus vitae, quae in operatione propriae virtutis consistit et per terrestrem paradysum figuratur, et beatitudinem vitae aeternae, quae consistit in fruitione divini aspectus.' It follows then that, every life (excepting the mere brute life of sensual enjoyment, the *ἀπολαυστικός βλος*,² which could in no case be represented in Purgatory), falling under one or other of these two divisions, sins may be classified according as

¹ Epistle to Can Grande. So Foscolo remarks 'Chi saprà mai quali e quanti l' Autore intendevasi di velare in ogni parola, e con quanta diversità di maniere ei spiegavali?'

² 'Chi usa pur la vita sensitiva, non vive uomo ma vive bestia,' *Conv.* ii. 8, and *bestialità*, *θηριότης*, in common with the other disposition, *malizia*, which is punished within the city of Dis (*Inf.* xi.), does not admit of any purgation.

they attach themselves more to the one or the other side of man's nature. This classification, though nowhere explicitly stated, seems to be plainly enough implied in the order wherein Dante arranges sinners in Purgatory. Thus, in the three lower circles are punished Pride, Envy, Anger, sins of contemplation—the two first of which, it may be remarked, have no place in Hell, because until they result in action (when they become schism, malice, and treachery, just as anger becomes violence, and are placed in the lowest Hell), they injure only the man himself, and not the fabric of society.¹ Anger, indeed, like Sloth,² may so destroy a man's moral nature as to render it unfit for purification; and so the Angry and Slothful lie together in Hell, forming there, as the Slothful by themselves in Purgatory, the division between the two chief classes of sins. That the Slothful are put by themselves in Purgatory is probably due to considerations of symmetry, and also because the sin of Sloth may be regarded as affecting both the Active and the Contemplative life, and checking the due development of one as much as of the other.

Passing above this intermediate zone, we find those who have sinned by Avarice, Gluttony, and Lasciviousness. Now these three sins do not exist save in Action: they postulate a corporeal existence.³ A purely abstract intelligence may be conceived as obnoxious to the attacks of Pride, Envy, and Anger, but not to the lusts of the flesh. We thus have, in addition to the division of sins given in Canto xvii., a further classification into sins of the contemplative and sins of the active life, with Sloth, or *Accidia*, assailing both, but more apparent in its effects on the latter, and leading more directly to those faults which especially belong to it.

We are now in a position to examine somewhat more closely the circumstances of each dream. In the first place, it is to be noted that the introduction, by which, as has been said, the hour is fixed, gives in each case the keynote to what follows. Thus, in the first night it is the swallow, with her memory of ancient woes, meditating upon the sorrows which she endured in human form. Moreover, it is the hour when the mind of man is 'quasi divina' in its visions, the very same term being used which Dante applies to the contemplative life in the passage

¹ Cf. Witte, note to Inf. viii. 46: Die Hölle hat es nur mit Thatsünden zu thun; Stolz und Neid sind aber an sich noch nicht Thatsünden, sondern nur die giftigen Wurzeln der mannigfachsten.

² 'Sloth' does not exactly render *Accidia*. It is indeed one of its results; but *accidia* involves a far wider corruption of the character. The best modern account of it will be found in the Essay prefixed to a volume of sermons by the Dean of Christ Church, 'The Spirit of Discipline.'

³ πάθος λόγοι ἐνυλοί. De An. i. 1.

already quoted from the *Convito*. The poet is then seized by an Eagle, the emblem from the earliest Christian times of the soul which most aspires to meditate on divine things, and as such adopted for the special 'cognisance' of St. John the Divine; he is borne up to the fire, or Empyrean¹ heaven, 'luogo,' as he says, 'di quella somma Deità che sè sola compiutamente vede,' and when he wakes, his face is turned out to seaward, in the attitude which most suggests contemplation.

The second vision is of a different character, in that it deals rather with the fault to be avoided than the grace to be sought. The hour is that of the greatest cold, when all activity is at its weakest; and the allusions to the groping geomants and the dull planet Saturn appear to be intended to heighten the effect of the suggestion. The ordinary interpretation of this vision is different from that here indicated. The Siren has been generally taken to denote the false pleasure arising from the joys of this world, and leading to the sins which are punished in the three higher circles; and this is to some extent borne out by Virgil's words: 'Che sola sopra noi omai si piagne,'² when taken in conjunction with the similar expression in xvii. 136, 137; but here again one interpretation does not exhaust the whole of the allegory. For let us consider the description of the figure which Dante sees. She is 'balba, con gli occhi guerci, e sopra i piè distorta.' Are not these the very symptoms of Sloth, which arrests the development of the *active* life? As he dwells on her, she becomes more and more attractive; and after she has been put to flight by the 'donna³ santa e presta' (note this epithet—it is a lady holy and *alert* who defeats the Siren), the recollection of her draws him back and makes him slow to mount upwards, so that Virgil has to enjoin upon him to use the action of a man who is arousing himself from sloth. Nor indeed does this explanation of the vision conflict with other evidence. The Siren says that it was she who drew Ulysses from his road. Now we do not find that the temptation which the Sirens held out to Ulysses was that of sensual pleasures; that is rather the part of Circe and the Lotus-eaters. The Sirens 'know all the toils which Argives and Trojans had in broad Troy'; it is by the inducement of a slothful rest that they seek to draw

¹ S.T. ii. 2. Q. 175. A. 3.

² Also by xxxi. 45.

³ This lady is clearly the 'Donna gentil' of Inf. ii. 94. It will be observed that there she is connected with Lucia, whom she sends to Beatrice in order to move her to the aid of Dante; and here she performs a similar office to that discharged by Lucia in the first vision, namely, that of bringing it to an end, and arousing the sleeper. Comparing Inf. ii. 102 with Par. xxxii. 8, and looking to the juxtaposition of Maria with Lucia in Conv. iii. 5, we can hardly doubt that she is the Virgin Mary. (Since writing this, I find that Ozanam has come to the same conclusion.)

men from their duty, and the enjoyment which they offer is intellectual rather than sensual; ¹ in any case it is inactive. ² Thus we seem irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that Dante's Siren, though, since idleness is at once the cause ³ and the effect of fleshly sins, she may not unfitly denote 'the love which abandons itself too much to them,' is primarily 'improba Siren desidia.' ⁴ It is to be observed also that just as, on awaking from the first dream, Dante finds himself as we have seen in an attitude fitted for contemplation, so in this case he notices on coming to himself that 'we were going with the new Sun at our backs'; the position which a man who wishes to see the work that lies before him would naturally assume.

Lastly as to the third dream, in Canto xxvii. All commentators seem agreed in considering that Rachel and Leah are understood by Dante, following all ⁵ the theologians of the Middle Age, as holding symbolically in the Old Testament the same position as Martha and Mary in the New. What that is he sets forth plainly in Conv. iv. 17. In the world of history the typical representatives of the active and

¹ Guido dalle Colonne, in the account which he makes Ulysses give to Idomeneus of his wanderings, has of the Sirens: *Hae autem mirabiles voces mirabili sonitu resolvunt in cantu in tam dulci modulamine cantilenae quod caelestem putares excedere in sonis musicis harmoniam, adeo quod miseri navigantes cum ad eas perveniunt tanta earum cantus dulcedine capiuntur quod eorum navium vela deponunt, remos reponunt (cf. xvii. 87) in altum, navigatione penitus abstinentes. Sic enim animos miserorum ille cantus inebriat, quod miseri audientes omnium aliarum curarum gravaminibus exuuntur, et in tantum ipsarum dulcedo demulcet auditus quod quasi sui ipsorum prorsus obliti nec esum appetunt neque cibum, dum eorum animis quidam sopor illabitur per quem efficiuntur penitus dormientes.*

² This thought is well rendered in Daniel's lovely poem: 'Come, worthy Greek, Ulysses, come.'

³ S.T. ii. 2. Q. 35. A. 4: *Illi qui non possunt gaudere in spiritualibus delectationibus, transferunt se ad corporales . . . filia acediae evagatio circa illicita.*

So Marlowe, *Faustus*, A. ii. Sc. 2: *Sloth*: I was begotten on a sunny bank, where I have lain ever since; and you have done me great injury to bring me from thence; let me be carried thither again by Gluttony and Lechery.

⁴ Cf. Ep. v. § 4: *Nec seducat illudens cupiditas, more Sirenum; nescio qua dulcedine vigiliam rationis mortificans.*

⁵ Thus Hugh of St. Victor (quoted by Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*) has '*Lia*, quae interpretatur laboriosa, significat vitam activam . . . Rachel, quae interpretatur visum principium, designat vitam contemplativam.' Adam of St. Victor, '*Lippam Liam latent multa quibus videns Rachel fulta Pari nubit foedere.*' And Bernard of Cluny, '*Tunc Jacob Israel, et Lia tunc Rachel efficietur.*'

contemplative life are respectively Matilda and Beatrice. It is therefore right and fitting that after he has been awakened, not, as in the other dreams, by any special intervention, but merely by the splendour of the dawn, and after Virgil has resigned his charge at the entrance of the Earthly Paradise, giving him full power physical and spiritual, as implied by the crown and mitre, over himself, Dante should be met by Matilda, employed in the same manner as the Leah of his dream, and be led by her to the spot where Beatrice, descended from her place beside Rachel (*Inf.* ii. 102), comes to receive him.

It should be observed finally that Matilda, as representing here the glorified active life, finds her highest pleasure in 'giving praise for the operations of God's hands'; that is, the ultimate perfection of one life is practically the same as that of the other—Leah decks herself, but takes 'pleasure at her mirror' no less than Rachel. Herein, indeed, lies the key to most of Dante's moral and theological system, and even, as will be understood by a reference to the passage already indicated of the *De Monarchiâ*, to much of his political doctrine also; and I have therefore entered somewhat at length into what may seem to some, as they did to Sismondi, among the less interesting portions of the *Cantica*. Possibly further consideration may lead to the belief that his judgement was formed hastily.

APPENDIX B

ON THE ALLEGORY OF CANTOS XXIX.-XXXIII.

IT seems, for several reasons, more convenient to relegate such exposition as must be given of these quasi-apocalyptic Cantos to a separate note, than to explain them step by step, by means of a running commentary. In the first place, such a course would rather overcrowd the pages with notes; and further, to those who read the poem merely for its poetry, this long historical disquisition—for it is indeed little else, in spite of an occasional outburst in Dante's grandest style—may seem a little wearisome, and by no means to be emphasized by frequent notes. Lastly, the general drift of the whole, in spite of the obscurity of details, is so clear and so connected, that the student will probably be best served by an attempt to elucidate it as a whole. So much of Dante's political doctrine is contained in it that this attempt is worth making. As will be seen, a great part of it contains a statement of the same theories which he expounded in a more strictly scientific form in the *De Monarchiâ*; and, of any interest which that treatise possesses, these Cantos may be fairly held to claim a share.

Perhaps it will be convenient to begin with a few words as to the personages. Of course it will be understood that Dante, Beatrice, and Virgil are primarily themselves; the 'ten years' thirst,' which is quenched in the light of the eyes 'whence Love once drew his armoury,' is no mere figure of the state of a man who has left the study of theology, or has been desirous to understand the mystic sense of Holy Scripture, as certain of the old expounders deem. On the other hand, it is not merely the woman Beatrice Portinari, to whom, before her birth, the Virtues themselves were appointed for handmaidens, or who addresses the ladies personifying these virtues in the very words used by Christ to His disciples. Thus there is a sense in which Beatrice and

Virgil and Dante himself must be regarded as abstractions personified no less than those ladies, or the seven candlesticks, or the tree, or the mystic car. We may understand the two first as denoting the highest perfection which man can in the contemplative life attain—Virgil, by the light of nature, Beatrice as informed by revelation. Dante himself is the type of the soul of man in its search after this perfection; Matilda is the active life, which works with temperance, prudence, fortitude, and justice (Conv. iv. 22), but, in order to attain its highest bliss, needs to be blended with the contemplative, as indicated by the allusion to ‘the Psalm *Delectasti*.’ By this a man is guided through the world, figured, as we are told in the *De Monarchiâ*, by the earthly paradise, and led on to the point where he becomes worthy to enjoy the beatific contemplation of the Deity.

We may now follow the allegory step by step, from the point (xxix. 16) where Dante, warned by Matilda, turns his attention to what is coming. Seven candlesticks, denoting the gifts of the Spirit,¹ come first, apparently self-moved, and leaving behind them luminous bands, of the seven prismatic colours, in which some have seen the seven sacraments. It is, however, difficult to adapt these to the seven gifts, and also there is a want of appropriateness in making them *precede* the coming of Christ; so that, on the whole, it seems better to understand the bands merely as the *working* of the gifts. A distance of ten paces is said to separate the two on the outside, apparently with allusion to the Commandments. Then follow twenty-four elders, representing the books of the Old Testament,² clad and crowned with white, the colour of faith (Heb. xi.) After these comes the car of the Church, surrounded by four Beasts, resembling those of the Apocalypse, but crowned with green, denoting the four Gospels, as specially connected with ‘Christ, which is our hope’ (1 Tim. i. 1). It is drawn by a Grifon, that is, Christ. In his lion (or human) part he combines the colours of the Old and New Testament; while his bird (or divine) part is golden. His wings stretch up out of sight, and have three of the bands on each side and one between them. The symbolism of this part is very obscure. Witte gives up the attempt to explain it, only remarking that none of the explanations hitherto given are satisfactory. Looking to Psalms xxxv. and lvi., and comparing verse 6 of the former with 1 and 11 of

¹ See Isaiah xi. 2; also, S. T. ii. 1. Q. 6. The gifts are *sapientia, intellectus, consilium, fortitudo, scientia, pietas, timor Domini*. Cf. Conv. iv. 21.

² It will be observed that Dante does not reckon the Apocryphal books. The number 24 is obtained by reckoning the Pentateuch, the Historical books, and the three ascribed to Solomon as forming only three together.

the latter,¹ it seems that we must understand the wings as denoting—the one mercy, the other truth or justice.² Then their position with regard to the bands will be made intelligible by a reference to Ps. xxxv. 11, which in the Vulgate reads as follows: ‘Praetende misericordiam tuam scientibus te, et justitiam tuam his qui recto sunt corde’; ‘O stretch forth thy mercy over those that know thee (*scientia*), and thy justice over them that are of a right heart (*consilium*).’ On the right side of the car are three ladies, clad in red, white, and green, respectively denoting the theological virtues of Love, Faith, and Hope; and on the left side four, the cardinal virtues of Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice. These are clad in purple, and are led by Prudence, who has three eyes. Seven elders follow, who are robed, like the others, in white, but crowned with red flowers (‘faith, which worketh by love,’ Gal. v. 6), and represent the remainder of the New Testament, the Epistles of St. Paul reckoning as one book.

When it is over against the spot where Dante and Statius are standing, the procession halts. Virgil has vanished, and Beatrice appears standing on the car, clad in the three mystic colours, red, white, and green. She calls Dante to account for his unfaithfulness to her, which, as I have elsewhere said, I take to have been both literal and metaphorical. At least, if with some commentators we are to reject the former notion, it seems hard to see the force of such lines as xxxi. 59. There is much evidence to support the belief that Dante—at all events in his earlier manhood—had yielded to temptations to which men of his strong nature and highly imaginative temperament are prone.³ After he has been brought to confession and contrition he is drawn by Matilda through the stream of Lethe, and led by the four Virtues—who, as pertaining to the active life, form a link between her and Beatrice—to the breast of the Grifon. At first he sees only the eyes of Beatrice, which are fixed on the Grifon, and reflect alternately the one and the other nature; but at the prayer of the three Virtues she unveils her whole face. Dazzled

¹ Domine in caelo misericordia tua, et veritas tua usque ad nubes.
In umbra alarum tuarum sperabo, donec transeat iniquitas.

Magnificata est usque ad caelos misericordia tua, et usque ad nubes veritas tua.

(The references to Psalm and verse are according to the numbering of the Vulgate.)

² As to the equivalence of *veritas* and *justitia*, see S. T. i. Q. 21. A. 2. It may be noted that St. Bernard, in his sixth sermon on the Canticles, expounding v. 15, interprets the *crura* (or, as he seems to quote it, *pedes*) of that passage in a precisely similar sense.

³ I adhere to this view with a full knowledge of what Scartazzini (Vita di Dante, Prolegomeni, etc.) and others have said on the subject.

by its splendour, Dante at first sees nothing else, but presently he is aware that the whole procession has turned, and he, Statius, and Matilda take their places by the right wheel of the car, and accompany it. They pass through the wood until they reach a leafless tree. This is primarily the tree of knowledge, but denotes further the virtue of obedience, of which that tree was the test, and as such serves to recall the obedience of Christ. To this the Grifon attaches the pole of the car (that is, the Cross), and it breaks out into leaves and flowers, which by their hue suggest the imperial purple. Henceforth the tree and car together become the symbol of the union of Empire and Church, which, it must be remembered, were in Dante's eyes merely two aspects of the same institution. At this point Dante loses consciousness, and awakes again to find the whole pageant departed. Beatrice remains, sitting on the ground under the tree, to indicate that the highest perfection of life is only attainable under the Empire; a doctrine which is reasoned out in the first eight chapters of the *De Monarchiâ*. The seven lights are now in the hands of the seven Virtues.

The second part of the vision now begins. An eagle descends through the tree, tearing the flowers and making the car totter. This refers to the persecutions endured by the early Church at the hands of the first emperors. Next a fox, denoting the earlier heresies, and perhaps more particularly that of Arius, appears in the car, but is driven away by Beatrice. The eagle then descends again, leaving the car covered with its feathers, figuring the donations of Constantine. A dragon appears between the wheels of the car, and, fixing its tail into the floor of it, draws part away. This probably alludes to the Iconoclastic schism (728 A.D.), though many have seen in it an allusion to Mahommed. The two are not incompatible, for, as Mr. Bryce (*Holy Roman Empire*, chap. iv.) has shown, there was a belief in Dante's time that Mahomedanism was a result of the schism. The remainder of the car now puts forth more feathers, signifying the further gifts of territory made by Pippin and Charles;¹ and then seven heads, three on the pole and one in each corner, the first having two horns, the others one. Many interpretations of these have been given, but I do not find that any one has suggested what appears by far the simplest, namely, that they denote the seven electors, three of whom were mitred—the Archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cöln—and four temporal princes. It must be remembered that these were originally appointed (circa 1000 A.D.) by the Pope,² and hence they are appro-

¹ *Holy Roman Empire*, chap. iv.; Villani ii. 13: 'Confermò alla Chiesa ciò che Pipino suo padre le avea dotato, e oltre a ciò dotò la Chiesa del ducato di Spuleto e di Benivento.'

² Gregory V. (996), says Mr. Bryce; but Villani (iv. 3) says: 'Morto

priately made to spring from the Church. After this a harlot is seen in the car, together with a giant, who first fondles her, and then, on her turning her eyes to Dante,¹ beats her cruelly, and afterwards looses the car from the tree, and draws it out of sight through the wood. In this there can be no doubt that we must see the relations of Philip IV. of France and Boniface VIII., and the removal of the Papal see to Avignon in 1305.

We now come to the third stage of the allegory. Beatrice, attended by the seven ladies, Dante, Statius, and Matilda, moves on a short distance, and then proceeds to foretell what is about to happen. 'A five hundred and fifteen' is to slay the harlot and the giant. Over this obscure allusion commentators have puzzled greatly; some even having found in it a prophecy of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi. Nearly all have sought an explanation in the letters DXV, which are transposed to DVX, and taken to signify the coming of some great leader. A consideration of dates may make the matter simpler, if we observe further the connection between the mystic number and 'the eagle who left his feathers to the car.' 'In the autumn of 799,' says Mr. Bryce, 'Charles descended from the Alps once more, while Leo revolved deeply the great scheme for whose accomplishment the time was now ripe'—that is, the revival of the Western Empire in Charles's person. Five hundred and fifteen years from this entry of the first Teutonic Caesar brings us to 1314, in which year Lewis of Bavaria was elected emperor. Under him, and several great partisan leaders, Matthew Visconti, Can Grande of Verona, Castruccio Castracane, Uguccione della Faggiuola, the cause of the Empire began again to make head against the Papacy. The same year also saw the deaths of Philip the Fair and Clement V., the first of the Avignon popes, after whose death the see remained vacant for two years. To this there is probably an allusion in the 'fu, e non è' of xxxiii. 35, and if my view be correct it may serve to fix the date at which the Purgatory was finished. The statement that Beatrice had not moved ten paces when she began her prophecy probably is an allusion to the interval of nine years from 1305 to 1314.

All this, Beatrice says, speaking to mankind in the person of Dante,

Otto il terzo . . . si parve a papa Sergio quarto (this cannot be correct, as Otto died 1002, and the accession of Sergius was 1009) . . . che d' allora innanzi lo 'mperio andasse per elezione del più degno, . . . e furono per dicreto ordinati sette elettori, etc.' Observe that Dante (*De Mon.* iii. 15) speaks of the electors as 'nebula cupiditatis obtenebrati.'

¹ 'Quod bonifatius voluit respicere ad gentem ytalicam, dimissa gallica, quod nolebat amplius pati servitutem phylippi,' says Comm. Gg. i.e. Benvenuto.

they might have perceived but for the hardness and dulness of their hearts. God's command, not to eat of the tree, is violated by those who, forgetting their due obedience, attempt to despoil the Empire of that which in the due order of things belongs to it.

Such appears to be the general outline of what Dante meant his readers to gather from this obscure allegory. Where a symbolical meaning may be found in every line, almost in every word, it is impossible to be sure that one has not overlooked some points ; but a reference to any of the older commentaries will enable the reader abundantly to supply all deficiencies.

GLOSSARY

Abbagliare, xv. 28, xxxiii. 75, 'to dazzle.' It appears to be from a simple form *bagliare* for *bargliare*, containing the particle *ber-* which is also found in the forms *be-*, *bar-*, and *bis-* (Fr. *bévue*, *berlue*, etc.) Various origins are given for this: Diez is inclined to suggest the Lat. *bis*, the idea of 'double' passing into that of 'confused,' and so 'awry,' as in Sp. *bisojo*. This, however, does not account for the rest of the word. It seems far more likely that it contains the same root as *blear*, which again is connected with *blink*, and Germ. *blicken*, all being from a root, BHARG, whence also *bright* (Skeat). Curtius also connects Gr. *φλέγω*, Lat. *fulgeo*. The word is thus probably a survival of some word in the *spoken* Latin, which has otherwise disappeared.

Abbandonare, iii. 20, etc.; v. sub **bando**.

Accorgere, most often in the reflexive form *accorgersi*, i. 126, ii. 67, v. 25, vi. 123, etc., 'to make to understand.' From Lat. *ad-corrigere*, 'to put in the right way towards,' hence reflexively 'to understand,' 'perceive.' In vi. 123, where I have, with most of my predecessors, rendered 'I accorger nostro,' 'our observation,' it may perhaps be better to take it as 'our guidance.' See also **scorgere**.

Adorezzare, i. 123; v. sub **aura**.

Aduggiare, xx. 44, 'to overshadow.' From *uggia*, 'shade.' Diez suggests a Kymric *hudd*. But it is better to take it from the Teutonic root, which gives Icel. *ugga*, 'to fear,' adj. *uggligr*, Eng. *ugly*. The meaning of 'shadow' is probably derived, not original, as it always seems to mean an unwholesome shade. But cf. *adombrare*, *umbrage*, etc. [*Ubbia*, 'fear,' may well be from the same. Cf. the forms *debbo* and *deggio*.]

Affanno, iv. 95, xiv. 109, etc., 'toil, distress'; verb tr. **affannare**, ii. 111, etc.; O. Fr. *ahan*, verb intr. *ahaner*; Sp. *afan*, *afaño*, *afanar*. Ducange derives the Fr. word from a supposed interjection, *han!*—the

sound of a forcible expiration, as of a man making a strong effort (compare the well-known 'sigh' of a paviour). This would suit the Fr. very well, but it is difficult to see how the *h* could have become *f*. Diez suggests a Kymric *afan*, 'strife, unrest,' but this presents the same difficulty, as it would hardly have got into Italian except through French. There is, however, a Prov. *afan*, which may have been the link.

Affollar, xxiv. 72, 'to press,' simple form *follar*, Fr. *fouler*, Sp. *hollar*. Lat. *fullare* does not exist, but the root is found in *fullo*.—Diez. (Mr. Skeat, however, thinks that the notion of bleaching, rather than that of pressing, is the original one.) It seems more probable that the word is here formed from *foliis*, and means literally 'to pant,' as I have rendered it.

Agio, xiv. 109, 'ease'; verb tr. **disagiare**, xix. 140; adj. **agevole**, iii. 51, xii. 93; sub. **agevolezza**, xxxi. 28; verb tr. **agevolare**, ix. 57. Fr. *aise*. A word of most obscure origin. Most of the modern European families of language contain something like it. Gothic *azēts*, 'easy, pleasant,' A.-S. *eað-* (prefix), *eaðe*, adj. 'easy'; also *eað*, 'wealth'; Icel. *auð-* (prefix), *auðr*; Gael. *adhais*, 'leisure, ease.' The absence of the word from Spanish would seem to be against its Gothic origin; and its presence in Italian in an earlier form than the French, against its introduction from any Celtic language. May not the adj. **agevole** (from a Latin *agibilis*) be the parent-word, **agio** being formed from it by analogy? In this case Eng. *ease* would be unconnected with Fr. *aise*, but might have been modified, according to a frequent practice, by its influence.

Ammannare, xxiii. 107, xxix. 49, 'to bind in a sheaf,' hence 'make ready.' From *manna*, Sp. *maña* (to be distinguished from *maña*, 'cunning'), 'a sheaf, bundle.' The Spanish word seems to be akin to *manada*, 'a handful,' and if so, must be from *manus* (cf. *manipulus*), though the doubling of the *n* in Italian is unusual.

Ammicare, xxi. 109, 'to make a quick sign.' Lat. *micare*, 'to move quickly,' of the hands, ears, or (in Ennius, quoted by Servius to Aen. x. 396) of the eyes. (Diez seems to know *micare* only in its secondary meaning of 'to shine'.)

Arnese, xxix. 52, 'equipment.' Fr. *harnois -ais*, and Sp. *arnes*, Eng. *harness*. Originally, 'anything made of iron.' Bret. *haiarnaez*, Welsh *haiarn*, from the same root as *iron*, *eisen*, O. G. *isarn*.

Arra, xxviii. 93, 'earnest, pledge.' Fr. *arrhes*, Sp. *arras*. From Lat. *arrha*, *arrhabeo*; this through Gr. ἀρραβών from the Hebrew. It is not clear whether Eng. *earnest*, M. E. *ernes*, Gael. *earlas*, are connected or not with the Rom. word.—Skeat.

Astio, vi. 20, 'hatred, spite.' From Goth. *haifsts*, 'strife, division' (Diez); perhaps modified in meaning by Germ. *hassen*.

Astore, viii. 104, 'a hawk.' Fr. *autour*, Sp. *azor*. From *asturius*, a supposed derivative of *astur*, 'a hawk,' so called from the district of Asturia in Spain.—Littré. Diez prefers to take it from *acceptorem*, a vulgar form of *accipitrem*.

Attuiare, xxxiii. 48, 'to stop up,' for *atturare*. Sp. *aturar*. The root appears in Latin in the compound *obturare*. Blanc wishes to read in this passage *ottuia*, for which, in presence of the Spanish form, there seems no need.

Aura, i. 17, xxiv. 146, etc., 'air, breeze'; from Lat. *aura*. Hence **orezza**, xxiv. 150; verb intr. **adorezzare**, i. 123, 'to be shady.' In i. 17 it seems to mean 'a heavy air,' contrasted with *aer*, this use being perhaps suggested by Aristotle, *De Mundo*, cap. 4: *αἶρας καλοῦμεν τὰς ἐξ ὑγροῦ φερομένας ἐκπνοάς*. **Adorezzare** is directly from **rezzo** (Inf. xvii. 87, etc.) or the longer form *orezzo*; this from *auritium*, which would mean originally 'a breezy place,' hence 'cool,' and hence 'shady,' by a converse process to that which has formed Fr. *abri*, 'shelter,' from *apricus*, 'sunny' (cf. Icel. *hlè*, 'lee,' *hlýja*, 'to shelter,' *hlýr*, 'warm'; also *calma*, 'calm,' through Latin from Greek *καῦμα*, 'heat').

Avacciare, iv. 116, vi. 27, 'to hasten' (adv. **avaccio**, Inf. x. 116, etc.) Diez derives from *abactiare*, a supposed frequentative of *abigere*, and if this be correct, **avaccio** must be a syncopated participle. An objection to it is that it is inconsistent with any known meaning of *abigere*. It must be said, too, that *avaccio* looks far more like a compound with *a*. May it not be from Germ. *wachsen*? (Cf. Fr. *avachir*, from *weichen*, O. G. *weichjan*.)

Avvampare, viii. 84, 'to burn.' From *vampo*=Lat. *vapor* (as *sarto*=*sartor*). Hence also Sp. *hampa*, 'brag,' *hampon*, 'pompous.'

Badare, iv. 75, 'to gaze.' Fr. *bayer*, O. Fr. *béer* (whence participle *béant*). Originally 'to open the mouth,' hence 'to stand a-gape' (*stare a bada*, Inf. xxxi. 139), and so 'to wait,' 'to watch.' Probably from *ba*, a sound expressive of opening the mouth, from which comes *badigliare*, Fr. *bâiller*, Fr. *badin* and *ébahir*, also (?) Sp. *badajo*, 'the clapper of a bell,' and met. 'a chatterer.'

Balia, i. 66, 'authority.' Fr. *baillie*, Sp. *baylia*, Eng. *bail*, M. Eng. *baylie* (Wiclif, in St. Luke xvi. 2). From Lat. *bajulus*, 'a porter,' so 'the bearer of anything,' whence *bailo*, *balire*, Fr. *bailler* or *-ir*.

Balzo, iv. 47, ix. 2, etc., 'a gallery.' I have adopted this spelling in the text, as it has the weight of authority, but **balzo**, 'a cliff,' does

not in every place suit the meaning, so that it must either be another form or a corruption of **balco** (which some MSS. have in ix. 2), from O. G. *balcho*, Icel. *bálkr*, Eng. *balk*, 'a beam' or 'timber' (cf. *bulk-head*). Hence it comes to mean 'a platform,' 'balcony,' or 'gallery.'

Bando, xxi. 102, xxx. 13, 'a proclamation.' Fr. *ban*, Sp. *bando*, Eng. *ban*, *banns*. (Verbs, *bandire*, *bannir*, *banish*.) From low Lat. *bandum*, this (*d* being imported as in *thunder*) from O. G. *bannan*, 'to proclaim,' hence 'prohibit by edict,' 'interdict.' From this the notion of banishing is easily derived. **Abbandonare** appears to come directly from the O. Fr., in which *bandon* had the meaning 'permission,' hence 'order,' M. E. *baundoun*. Thus *mettre à bandon*, or *abandonner qqc. à qqun.* 'to put it at his orders,' 'leave it to him.'

Bastare, i. 93, etc. 'to suffice.' Sp. *bastar*. Only found in French in the interj. *baste*, adj. *bastant*, which are probably borrowed direct from Italian. The original idea seems to be 'to support,' and the root appears in *bastire*, Fr. *bâtir*; *bastone*, Fr. *bâton*; Lat. *basterna*, 'a litter,' whence **basterna** in xxx. 16; and *basto* (also Sp.) from *bât*, 'a pack-saddle.' From this last word is almost certainly derived **bastardo** (xiv. 99), Fr. *bâtard*, as if 'begotten on a pack-saddle,' for Vigfusson's attempt (s. v. *bastarðr*) to find a Scandinavian origin for it, though ingenious, is hardly satisfactory, since the word does not appear in Scandinavian writers, as he himself admits, until it is used of William the Conqueror. Moreover *fille de bast* actually occurs in O. Fr. It may be observed that Sp. *basto* means as an adj. 'coarse, rude,' as if the 'pack-saddle' suggested the manners of a camp. The root of these words is obscure, but cf. Gr. *βασιτάειν*.

Biacca, vii. 73, 'a white pigment, white lead.' From Germ. *bleich*, 'pale,' Icel. *bleikr*, Eng. *bleak*, vb. *bleach*.

Biada, ii. 124, xxxiii. 51, 'corn.' Also **biado**. Fr. *blé*, O. Fr. *blée*. Probably from *ablatum*, plur. *ablata*, late Lat. for 'carried corn.'—Diez. (But Littré rather doubts, and it is an objection that both *biada* and *blé* mean 'standing corn.') The older derivation is from A. S. *blæð*, 'fruit,' or some kindred Germ. root; but it is a question whether this word is Teutonic, and it can hardly have got into Italian from A. S. direct. On the whole I do not feel sure that it does not contain some form of Germ. *blatt*, Icel. *blað*, Eng. *blade*.

Bigio, xx. 54, xxvi. 108, 'dark gray, dark.' Fr. *bis* and (dial.) *bège*. It seems originally to have denoted 'a yellowish gray,' and the most satisfactory derivation takes it from Lat. *byssus*, from *byssus*, Gr. *βύσσω* (an Eastern word), in the sense of 'coarse linen cloth.' Cf. Sp. *bazo* from *bombaceus*, 'made of cotton,' and v. sub **buio**.

Biondo, iii. 107, viii. 34, 'fair-haired.' Fr. *blond*. Derivation

very uncertain. A. S. *blonden-feax* seems to mean 'with hair in which gray is *blended* with dark.' Diez suggests a connection with Icel. *blauðr*, 'soft, weak,' which Mr. Skeat thinks absurd. It may, however, be observed that in O. Fr. the word seems to be applied to women almost exclusively, and that *blauðr* is used as a taunt to the *beardless* Njal in the saga; and, further, is actually used as='female' of animals. In any case it has apparently got modified in meaning by *bianco* and *blanc*.

Biscia, viii. 98, xiv. 38, 'a serpent.' O. Fr. *bisse* (used in heraldry). Sp. *bicho*, 'a grub.' From a German root found in *beissen*, Eng. *bite*.

Bisogna, xiii. 62, xxv. 6, xxxiii. 29, 'business.' Fr. *besogne*; and **bisogno** (perhaps in xxv. 6), 'necessity,' Fr. *besoin*. Simpler forms are O. It. *sogna*, Fr. *soin*, 'care.' Diez connects with Goth. *sunja*, 'truth,' O. G. *sunnis*, Icel. *sannr*, 'true,' Eng. *sooth*, and so with Icel. *syn*, 'the repelling of a charge,' whence comes the notion of 'hindrance.' The prefix *bi-* or *be-* is, however, a difficulty. Diez sees objections to the 'pejorative' *bis* (v. sub **abbagliare**), which Littré (who has an affection for this particle) thinks of insufficient weight. Why should not Germ. *besonnen* (from *besinnen*), or some older form of the same, answer all requirements? [N.B. Eng. *business* is almost certainly quite unconnected with the Rom. words.]

Bordello, vi. 75, 'a brothel.' Fr. *bordel*, Sp. *burdel*. Originally 'a hut,' from Goth. *baurd*, Eng. *board*. [The word appears, in spite of the similarity, to be unconnected with the English, which is connected with *break* (cf. *brittle*), and meant 'a transgressor,' thus primarily denoting a person, not a place.—Skeat. It is curious, however, that in the passage referred to, Dante seems to use the word very much in this sense, contrasting *bordello* with *donna*.]

Bordone (1), xxviii. 18, 'a ground-bass.' Fr. *bourdon*, Sp. *bordon*, Eng. *burden*. Almost certainly formed from the sound; though Diez is inclined to derive it from the next word, taking it to mean originally 'an organ pipe,' which resembles a staff.

Bordone (2), xxxiii. 78, 'a pilgrim's staff.' Fr. and M. E. *bourdon*, Sp. *bordon*. Diez derives it from low Lat. *burdo*, 'a mule,' comparing Sp. *muleta*, which means both 'a mule,' and 'a crutch.' Skeat suggests *bordone* (1); the staff being supposed to contain a pitch-pipe. But O. Fr. *bohört*, *behourde*, 'a jousting lance,' connected probably with Welsh *hwrdd*, 'a ram' (and hence, 'a push'), and so with Fr. *heurter*, Ital. *urtare*, Eng. *hurt*, seems to offer a better derivation. In this case the word would have come into Italian from French, which would be natural, as pilgrims would more probably pass from France into Italy than the other way.

Bramar, xv. 78, xxiii. 35, 'desire, longing.' Verb **bramare**, viii. 75, etc., adj. **bramoso**, xxiv. 108. Fr. *bramer*, 'to bellow,' so Sp. *bramar*. This seems to be the original meaning, from O. G. *bremān*, corresponding with Gr. *βρέμειν*.—Diez. For the change of signification cf. *latrare* in Lucr. ii. 17, and Hor. 2 Sat. ii. 18.

Briga, vii. 55, 'hindrance,' xvi. 117, 'strife'; **brigare**, xx. 125, 'to strive'; **brigata**, xiv. 106, 'a troop.' Fr. *brigue*, *briguer* ('to intrigue'), *brigade*, Sp. *bregar*. From Goth. *brikan*, 'to break,' whence the idea of strife or contention easily comes. Cf. Icel. *brjótask*, 'to struggle, fight,' refl. of *brjóta*, 'to break.' *Brigata* was originally 'a troop of soldiers,' *brigante*, 'a soldier,' *brigantino*, 'a ship of war.' The Fr. word no doubt comes from the Italian, the native Fr. form being *broyer*, Fr. *bregar*.

Brina, xxi. 47, 'hoar-frost.' Probably from Lat. *pruina*: but a Venetian form *borina* suggests that it may be from *vapor*.—Diez. The Fr. *bruine*, 'a cold fog, drizzle,' however, seems conclusive for the first.

Brolo, xxix. 147, 'a thicket.' Fr. *breuil*, Eng. *Broyle* (a local name near Chichester). From low Lat. *brogilus*, this perhaps from Celt. *brog*, 'a swelling up.' Diez, however, considers that the suffix *-il* implies a German origin, and takes it from M. Germ. *brogen*, 'to rise up.' Ital. *broglia*, Fr. *brouiller*, are perhaps from the same root.

Brullo, xiv. 91, 'stripped,' 'flayed.' Muratori gives a form *sbrolo*, which he derives from *experulus*, for *experulatus*, 'stripped of his wallet' (*perula*). Diez approves of this, but is not the quantity of *pērūla* a difficulty? Comparing Inf. xxxiv. 60, and remembering the connexion between 'scorch' and 'cortex,' it would seem best to refer it to O. Fr. *bruller*, Mod. *brûler*, from *perustulare*.

Buca, xviii. 114, xxi. 9, 'a hole.' (Also *buco*.) Sp. *buque*, 'the hull of a ship.' Connected with Germ. *bauch*, 'the belly,' Icel. *búkr*, 'the trunk.' (Cf. Gr. *κόλπος*, *κοιλία*.)

Buccia, xxiii. 25, 'hide, skin.' Probably from the same root as *buca*. (Cf. M. E. 'hole,' 'the hull, or husk of a nut,' and 'hole' = 'hollow'.)

Bugiare, xviii. 109, 'to lie'; **bugiardo**, xix. 108, 'false.' From *bugia*, 'a lie.' Diez mentions an O. Fr. *boisie*, 'deceit.' Of very uncertain origin, perhaps connected with Germ. *posse*, 'a joke,' *possen*, 'a trick.'

Buio, xvi. 1, xxxiii. 46, 'dark.' O. Fr. *buire*, 'dark-brown.' From a late Lat. *burius*, from *burrus*, Gr. *πυρρός*. Hence Fr. *bure*, 'coarse cloth,' and Sp. *buriel*, which means both the stuff and the colour. Cf. **bigio**.

Calere, viii. 12, xxx. 135, xxxii. 5, 'to be of importance.' Fr. (obsolete) *chaloir*, Sp. (obsolete) *caler*. From Lat. *calere*, 'to grow warm.' Usually impersonal; but in xxxii. 5 it seems to mean 'to heed'; and cf. Fr. *nonchalant*.

Cammino, ii. 11, etc., 'a road.' Fr. *chemin*, Sp. *camino*. From low Lat. *caminus*, this almost certainly from Kymric *camian*.

Cansare, xv. 144, 'retire,' 'withdraw.' From Lat. *camp̄sare*, found in Ennius. This probably from Gr. κάμπτειν, 'to bend.'

Canto, iii. 89, etc., 'a corner.' Eng. *cant*, sub. 'an edge,' and *cant*, verb, 'to tilt on the edge.' Cf. *cantle*, Henry IV. Part I, Act. iii. Sc. 1. From Germ. *kante*. Diez and Littré take Fr. *canton* from this, which Mr. Skeat thinks doubtful. The root seems to be the same as in Gr. γωνία.

Caribo, xxxi. 132, 'a dance-tune'—Bianchi; 'a country-dance'—Baretti. Probably connected with Eng. *carol*, O. Fr. *carole*, from a Celtic root, found in *carol*, verb *caroli*, 'to dance'—Skeat; all connected with Skt. *char*, 'to move,' and Lat. *curro*.

Cenno, i. 50, xxi. 15, etc., 'a quick gesture, sign'; vb. *accennare*, xxxiii. 14. Sp. *ceño*, 'a frown, scowl.' *Cinnus* in late Latin seems to have had the meaning of 'a nod,' and also of 'the eyelash.' V. Forcell. s. v. It is probably akin to *cilium*, and cf. *cincinnus*, 'a lock of hair.' These are all connected by the idea of quick movement, and seem to contain the same root as Gr. κινέω, Lat. *cineo*.

Cerchio, i. 78, etc., and **cerchia**, xxii. 33, 'a circle.' From Lat. *circulus*. Blanc makes a distinction between the use of the two forms, the masculine being, according to him, 'a circle' generally, while the feminine is usually (as Inf. xviii. 3) 'a circular enclosure.' In the passage referred to above, however, this distinction does not seem to be maintained. From *cerchio* comes verb *cerchiare*; while *cercare*, Fr. *chercher*, Eng. *search*, is from low Lat. *circare*.

Cerro, xxxi. 71, 'an oak.' From Lat. *cerrus* (described by Pliny, Hist. Nat. xvi. 8, apparently a kind of holm-oak).

Compilare, xxi. 27, 'to heap up.' Fr. *compiler*, Sp. *compilar*, Eng. *compile*. From Lat. *compilare*, 'to plunder,' 'pillage.' The original idea is thus 'to collect stolen goods.' 'Compilatus, extractus.'—Du Cange. (It is curious that Forcellinus mentions a supposed derivation of Lat. *pilare* from Gr. πιλοῦν, 'quia fures stipant ea, quae furantur,' showing that the two ideas are easily connected.) [The form **compigliare** is also found in the sense of 'to embrace'; v. sub **pigliare**.]

Conocchia, xxi. 26, 'a skein,' properly 'a distaff.' Fr. *quenouille*

(which also has both meanings), Germ. *kunkel*. From Lat. *conucula*, for *colucula*, from *colus*.

Conto, ii. 56, xiii. 105, xv. 12, 'known'; sub. **contezza**, xx. 29, xxiv. 36. O. Fr. *cointe*, whence *accointer*, Eng. *acquaint*, M. Eng. *queynte* (=cunning). From Lat. *cognitus*. The word has clearly been confused with *conto*, or as it is spelt in Conv. iv. 25, *comto*, from *comptus*, from which there is also an O. Fr. *cointe*, and, as I venture to think, M. E. *queynte*, in the sense of 'elegant,' hence 'curious,' mod. *quaint*, which usually has a notion of prettiness. In Inf. iii. 76 it is apparently opposed to *fioco*, 'faint,' 'dim.' This may explain the use of *conto* in ii. 56, where clearly some other than the usual meaning is wanted; though on the whole I prefer the explanation which I have given in the note.

Cruciato, xxii. 39, 'to anger,' contracted from *corruciare*. Fr. *courroucer*. From *corruccio*, Fr. *courroux*. According to Diez this is for *colleruccio*, from Lat. *cholera*, 'gall,' this from Gr. *χολή*. (It is to be noticed that *cholera* does not appear to have been used, like *bilis*, metaphorically.) Littré, however, prefers to take it from a supposed *corruptium*, from *corruptus*; and considering that the *l* does not appear in any of the cognate languages, that there is an O. Fr. *corroz*, and that *corrotto* is used in Italian (e.g. Villani vi. 45) in the sense of 'vexation,' he is most likely right. The form **cruciare** has probably been influenced by *cruciare*, from *crux*; cf. Eng. *cross*.

Cruna, x. 16, xxi. 37, 'the eye of a needle.' From Lat. *corona*. (Diez. But?) -

Cucire, xiii. 71, 'to sew'; **ricucire**, xxv. 139. Fr. *coudre*, Sp. *coser* and *cusir*. From low Lat. *cusire*, a corruption of *consuere*. Sb. **costura**, xiii. 83, from *consutura*.

Dileguarsi, xiv. 134, xvii. 73, 'to melt away.' From Lat. *deliquare*. Fr. *délayer*, with which Diez connects it, probably comes, through *délai*, from *dilatatum*, part. of *differre*.

Disgroppare, ix. 126, 'to loosen a knot.' From *groppo* (Inf. xi. 96, etc.), 'a knot.' Fr. *groupe*, Sp. *grupo*, Eng. *group*. From Germ. *kropf*, Icel. *kroppr* ('a hump'), Eng. *crop*. The root is, however, also found in Celtic. From the same are *groppa*, Fr. *croupe* and *croupir*, Sp. *grupa*. (Eng. *crouch*, is, according to Mr. Skeat, rather a form of *crook*.)

Divisare, xxix. 82, 'to devise, describe.' O. Fr. *deviser*, from sb. *devis*, Eng. *device*, Sp. *divisa*. From low Lat. *divisare*, this from *dividere*, the sequence of meaning being 'to divide, to distinguish, to

explain,' whence come further the modern Fr. sense of 'to converse,' and Eng. 'to contrive.'

Doga, xii. 105, 'a barrel-stave.' Fr. *douve*, Germ. *daube*. From late Lat. *doga*, 'a vessel,' used of the measurement of ships, cups, etc. (Hence perhaps *dogger*.) This from Gr. δοχή, which seems to have been used for 'a reservoir.' Diez traces the meaning of 'a barrel-stave' from the banks enclosing a reservoir. It is to be observed, however, that Icel. *þífa* signifies 'a mound,' and that according to Vigfusson (s. v.) Germ. *daube* has locally the same meaning. Now *þífa* cannot have come from *daube*, but is cognate with it, so that the 'mound' may be the original sense of the German, which may have passed into that of 'stave,' through the stages suggested by Diez, in which case the Italian and French would be derived from it. For the *v* cognate with *g* cf. *tregua*.

Drudo, xxxii. 155, 'a paramour.' O. Fr. *dru* (distinct from *dru*, adj.) Originally, in good sense, merely 'a friend.' Low Lat. *drudus*, from O. Germ. *trūt*, mod. *traut*, Icel. *trúr*, Eng. *true*, *trusty*.

Fango, xvi. 129, xix. 104, 'mire.' Fr. *fange*, Sp. *fango* ('the ooze at the bottom of the sea'). From Goth. *fani*, gen. *fanjis*, 'mud,' Eng. *fen*.—Diez, Gr. Rom. i. 297. From Lat. *famex*, acc. *famicem*.—Littré. It is hard to say which of these two is more likely to be correct. *Famicem* would suit the French, but hardly the Italian—though we have in Dante *sorco*, from *soricem*. It is also possible that *fangoso*, from *famicosus* (which appears to have existed in low Latin), may be the original. *Famex*, however, seems only to have meant 'an ulcer,' so that on the whole the Germanic origin would seem the more probable.

Farfalla, x. 125, 'a butterfly.' From O. G. *fīfaltra*, Icel. *fīfrildi*. Latin *papilio* seems further off, though Diez takes it to be the more immediate origin of the word, through the form *parpaglione*; but all these words are clearly connected, and also (?) Gr. πομφόλυξ, 'a bubble.'

Fello, vi. 94, 'fierce.' O. Fr. *fel*, Eng. *fell*. From low Latin *felo*, the form *fellone* being from *felonem* (cf. *ladro* and *ladrone* from *latro* and *latronem*). O. G. *filan*, 'to scourge,' may be connected. Mr. Skeat, however, doubts the connexion of *fell* and *felon*, and is inclined to think the latter is Celtic, e.g. Welsh *ffel*, 'wily.'

Fiaccarsi, vii. 75, 'to be split.' The meaning, both here and in Inf. vii. 14, and xii. 15, seems to suggest a connexion rather with Eng. *flake*, Icel. *flakna*, than the derivation which Diez gives, from Lat. *flaccus*, *flaccidus*. In Inf. vi. 54, however, the latter seems to suit better.

The two can hardly be akin; though the resemblance of Eng. *flag*, 'a slice,' or '*flake* of stone,' and *flag*, 'to droop,' is at least curious.

Fianco, iv. 74, etc., 'side, *flank*.' Fr. *flanc*. From Lat. *flaccus*, 'soft,' as being the soft part between the hip and the ribs. Cf. Germ. *weiche* in the same sense.

Fiata, ix. 111, etc., 'a time,' xxvi. 101, etc., 'a period of time.' Fr. *fois*, Sp. *vez*. Probably from a low Lat. *vicata*, this from *vicem*, the Fr. and Sp. being from *vices*. The O. Fr. forms *fiée* and *foiée*, and Prov. *vegada*, agree better with this than with the derivation from *via*, which Diez prefers; and a further argument against his view is that the *fi-* in *fiata* is usually a separate syllable, while the *vi-* in *via* is not (ix. 111 is one of the few exceptions).

Ficare, xiii. 43, etc. 'to *fix*,' usually of the eyes. Fr. *ficher*, Sp. *hincar*. From a Lat. *figicare*, a (supposed) frequentative of *figere*, as *vellicare* of *vellere*. The sense of 'piercing' is, however, usually involved.

Foga, v. 18, xii. 103, xxxi. 18, 'force, speed,' and hence 'steepness.' (Cf. Gr. *αἶψα*, *αἰψός*.) Fr. *fougue*, Sp. *fuga*. Vb. *sfogarsi*, xxiv. 72. Probably from Lat. *fuga*, 'flight,' but *focus* is also suggested, in which case it would be another form of *fuoco*. *Fougue* does not appear in French till the sixteenth century, and in Spanish the secondary meaning—for the word also means 'flight'—may have been borrowed from the French. Littré gives also *fougon*, a southern word for 'a ship's kitchen,' so that the word, if from *focus*, may have come through the Provençal.

Foresta, xxviii. 2, etc., 'a forest.' Fr. *forêt*, Sp. *floresta*, Germ. *Forst*. From low Lat. *foresta*; this from *foris*, 'outside,' i.e. 'un-enclosed.' Cf. *forestiere*, 'a foreigner,' with which compare *selvaggio*, *savage*, from *silva*.

Fornire, xii. 132, xxii. 6, 'to furnish, complete.' Fr. *fournir*, Sp. *fornir*. From O. G. *frumjan*, Icel. *frenja*. That this is the true derivation is shown by the Prov. forms, *formir*, *fromir*. Connected with *former*, *further*, sub. and verb (in the latter of which the same notion appears), Germ. *fördern*, Lat. *primus*, etc.

Frasca, xxiv. 118, xxxii. 50, 'a branch.' Fr. *frasque* (in a different sense), Sp. *frasca*. Diez suggests that it is for *virasca*, from *virere*; cf. *fiata* from *vicata*. Provençal *frascar* means 'to break' (Fr. *fracasser*), which suggests that it may be a 'broken branch' (cf. Gr. *κλήμα*), only that in Dante (except perhaps Inf. xiii. 114) it seems to mean always 'a branch on the tree.' May it not be from *fraxinus*, originally 'an ash-branch'? [Cf. Fr. *buisson*, from *buis*, *buxus*, 'box.']

Fregiare, i. 38, 'to adorn,' and *sfregiarsi*, viii. 128, 'to lose

adornment.' Diez is inclined to connect it with Fr. *friser*, Eng. *frizzle*, etc., in the sense of 'to curl' (whence also *frieze* in architecture), and to derive it from some supposed German form. We have, however, in Icel. *fríðr*, 'handsome,' verb *fríða*, 'to adorn.' May there not have been a Goth. *fridjan* corresponding to this? [Eng. *fringe* is quite unconnected, being through Fr. from Lat. *fimbria*; I have therefore altered my rendering of i. 38, as likely to be misleading.]

Fretta, iii. 10, etc., 'haste,' vb. **affrettarsi**, x. 87. From vb. *frettare*, originally 'to rub,' from Lat. *fricare*, frequentative of *fricare*; Fr. *frotter*.

Frugare, iii. 3, etc., 'to urge.' Sp. *hurgar*. From Lat. *furca*, literally 'to push as with a fork.' (It also means 'to grope about,' e.g. Bocc. Decam. Day x. Nov. 6.)

Fuia, xxiii. 44. There is some doubt as to the meaning of this word. It is, according to Diez, used only by Dante; and occurs in only two other passages, Inf. xii. 90, and Par. ix. 75. The derivation from Lat. *fur* is the only one which seems satisfactory. The idea of 'desertion' (in Inf. xii. 90, and Purg. xxxiii. 44), or of 'concealment' (in Par. ix. 75), seems to be the fundamental one, and both these can be got from that of 'stealing.' Compare our use of 'to steal away,' and 'stealth,' and Gr. *λανθάνω*; *λῆστης*, *λάθρα*.

Galoppo, xxiv. 94, 'a gallop.' Fr. *galop*, Sp. *galope*. Verb *galoppare*; according to Diez and Littré from O. G. *gahlaufan* (mod. *laufen*, with intensive particle prefixed). But the existence of a Flemish and M. E. *walop* makes this very doubtful. It seems better to take this as the original form of the word (*w* passing regularly into *g*), and connect it with Germ. *wallen*, 'to boil, bubble,' Eng. *well*, *wallop* (in 'pot-walloper'); further with *walk*, *wallow*, *wälzen*, Icel. *válka*, Lat. *volvere* (cf. Virgil's 'sinuetteque alterna volumina crurum'); the common idea being that of 'rolling' or 'turning.'

Gamba, i. 51, etc., 'a leg.' Fr. *jambe*, Sp. *gamba*. From late Lat. *gamba*, 'the pastern,' Gr. *καμπή*, 'a bending, joint.' The same root with a similar meaning occurs in Eng. *ham*.

Gemere, xxv. 44, 'to trickle, drip.' The word (which also occurs in this sense Inf. xiii. 41) is probably from Lat. *gemere*, which is found with this meaning (transitively) Vulg. El. i. 4. Its original signification, however, according to Curtius, is 'to be full,' Gr. *γέμω*, whence the idea of overflowing easily follows.

Ghirlanda, xxvii. 102, 'a garland.' Fr. *guirlande*, Sp. *guirnalda*. Perhaps from M. G. *wierelen*, this from *wieren*, 'to plait round,' 'adorn,' *wiere*, 'inlaid work.'—Diez. [? Eng. *wire*.]

Giostra, xxii. 42, 'a joust,' and verb **giostrare**, xx. 74. Fr. *joute*, *jouter*, Sp. *justa*, *justar*. From Lat. *juxta* 'near,' the original meaning being merely 'to meet.' This is retained in the dialect of Berry, where *jôûter* means 'to border upon.'

Gota, xiii. 84, xxxi. 40, etc., 'the cheek,' hence 'mouth.' Fr. *joue*. According to Diez from Lat. *gabāta*, 'a dish,' which again may be connected with Gr. γαυλός, 'a pail.' The idea seems to be of something round and hollow. With the use of the word for *guancia* compare that of *piota* for *pianta*. There seems to have been a tendency to adopt words of somewhat similar but *harder* sound for the more common words, thus *otta* for *ora*, *gua'are* for *guardare*, etc.

Gramo, xxii. 42, 'wretched.' From Germ. *gram* (sb.), Icel. *gramr*. The root is the same as in *grimm*, *grimr*, Eng. *grim*.

Gridare, ii. 28, etc., 'to cry,' and sb. **grido**, xi. 95, etc. Fr. *crier*, Sp. *gritar*. From Lat. *quīrīare*, said to be a frequentative of *queri*, but the quantity of the second *i* is against this. The old view was that it meant 'to call on the Quirites for aid' (cf. the Jersey 'Haro'). It is more likely that it was formed from the sound of some animal's cry, and was afterwards generalised. [Eng. *cry*, 'to weep,' though doubtless modified by this, would seem to be originally distinct from it, and to belong to Icel. *gráta*, A. S. *grætan*, Scotch *greet*.]

Grotta, i. 48, iii. 90, xxii. 65, etc., 'a cavern,' hence a 'rock.' Fr. *grotte*, Sp. *gruta*. From Lat. *crypta*, low Lat. *grupta* (which was probably the older form; cf. *Burrus* for *Pyrrhus*), this from Gr. κρύπτη. In the Venetian Alps the word frequently occurs in the form *croda*.

Guadagno, xxiv. 129, 'gain,' verb **guadagnare**, xx. 77. Fr. *gagner*. From O. G. *weidanjan*=*weidenōn*, 'to pasture' (modern *weiden*). That this is the true derivation is made clear by the O. Fr. form *gaaigner*, and mod. *gagnage*; also by Sp. *guadaña*, 'a sithe.' Eng. *gain* is from a totally different root, being identical with Icel. *gagn*, but has probably been modified by Fr. *gain*; Sp. *ganar*, if it be not distinct from both, is most likely connected with the Scand. root, which also appears in Gothic.

Guizzare, xvii. 42, xxv. 26, 'to move quickly to and fro.' From Germ. (dial.) *witsen*, Eng. *twitch*.

Impacciare, xi. 75, xxi. 5, 'to hamper, hinder.' Sp. *empachar*. From *impactiare*, a supposed frequentative of *impingere* (cf. *avacciare*). —Diez. The original meaning of *pango*, 'to fix,' Gr. πῆγνυμι, suits this fairly well; but the compound *impingere* seems only to mean 'to strike against.' The word may, however, have got modified in

sense by Fr. *empêcher*, which is from *impedicare* (Eng. *impeach*). [It is curious that no one seems to have suggested Germ. *einpacken*, which, in two of the three passages where the word occurs in D. C. (Inf. xxii. 151, and Purg. xxi. 5), would suit the sense very well.]

Indarno, iii. 48, etc., 'in vain.' From Slavonic *darmo*, 'at a gift,' and so 'fruitlessly,' cf. Germ. 'vergebens.' The word is curious as being the only one which has come into Italian from Slavonic.

Ingannare, xiii. 122, etc., 'to deceive.' O. Fr. *enganer*, Sp. *engañar*. From low Lat. *gannare*, 'to mock,' sub. *gannum*. Probably from O. G. *gaman*, Eng. *game*. Cf. Eng. *gammon*, which has both meanings, and though now a slang word, is, according to Mr. Skeat, merely the M. E. *gamen*.

Ingombrare, iii. 30, xxxi. 142, 'to encumber,' and **sgombrare**, xxiii. 133, 'to discharge.' Fr. *encombrer*, *décombrer*, Sp. *escombrar*, 'to clear.' [*Encumbrar*, 'to raise up,' *descumbrar* (in part. *descumbrado*), 'to level,' are from *cumbre*=Lat. *culmen*.] From low Lat. *cumbrus*, modified from *cumulus*. Fr. *combler* is directly from *cumulare*.

Intoppo, xxiv. 96, xxxiii. 42, 'a collision,' hence 'assault.' From *toppo*, 'a block,' Sp. *tope*, connected with Germ. *zopf*, Icel. *toppr*, Eng. *tuft* and *top* (in both meanings), also Fr. *toupet* and *toupie*. The Sp. word well illustrates the connexion between the various senses of these different forms. It denotes 'a cross-piece on a pointed instrument,' 'an obstacle,' 'a quarrel,' 'the truck on a masthead,' 'the top of anything,' while *topar* is 'to run against,' *topetar*, 'to butt.'

Lacca, viii. 71. See Gloss. Inf.

Lai, ix. 13, 'songs.' Fr. *lai*, Eng. *lay*. It seems to be a Celtic word, Welsh *llais*, Gael. *laoidh*. At all events it appears as a Breton term in early French literature, from which Dante possibly borrowed it. Otherwise one would be inclined to connect it more directly with Germ. *lied*.

Laido, xxxii. 121, 'ugly.' Fr. *laid*. From O. G. *leid* (the modern word has undergone a slight change in meaning). Icel. *leiðr*, A. S. *læð*, Eng. *loath-some*.

Lama, vii. 90, 'a hollow.' Lat. *lama*, 'a pool,' (Hor. 1 Ep. xiii. 10). From same root as *lacus*. Paulus Diaconus, Hist. Lang. i. 10, curiously makes it a Lombard word: *piscina, quae eorum lingua lama dicitur*. In S. Tyrol the word means 'swampy ground.' Schneller.

Landa, xxvii. 98, 'a plain.' Fr. *lande*, Sp. *landa*, M. E. *laund*, modern *lawn*. It is a question whether the word comes immediately from Germ. *land*, or Celt. *lann*, Welsh *llan*, 'an inclosure.' The two,

however, are probably cognate. It may be noted that in xiii. 79, Gg. reads *landa* for *banda*, and glosses 'i.e. planicie extremâ'; with which compare the use of 'lands' for the overlapping edges of the strakes in a 'clinker-built' boat.

Lasciare, i. 3, iv. 128, etc., 'to leave, allow.' Fr. *laisser* (probably modified by Germ. *lassen*, as we have also *lâcher*), Sp. *laxar*. From Lat. *laxare*.

Leg, xv. 121, 'a league.' Fr. *lieue*, Sp. *legua*. From low Lat. *leuca*, a Gaulish word.

Lisciare, viii. 102, 'to smooth.' From *liscio*, Fr. *lisse*, Sp. *liso* ('plain,' 'even'), this from O. G. *lîsi*, modern *leise*, the root being the same as in Gr. λιστός, λείος.

Lista, i. 36, iv. 42, xxix. 77, 'a band.' Fr. *liste*, and (derivative) *lisière*, Sp. *lista*. From O. G. *lîsta*, modern *leiste*, Eng. *list*.

Lusinga, i. 92, 'flattery, deceit.' O. Fr. *losenge*, Sp. *lisonja*. From a low Lat. *laudemia* (like *vindemia*), as appears from the Prov. *lauzenga*, from which the Italian word probably comes. This is the derivation given by Diez; but Goth. *laus*, 'empty, vain,' akin to Icelandic. *lausung*, 'lying,' Eng. *leasing*, seems to offer one even more satisfactory. In any case the *i* in the Spanish word is abnormal; it may be an instance of the converse change to that which has made *domandare* from *dimandare* in Italian.

Magagna, vi. 110, xv. 46, 'a blemish.' A word of very obscure origin. There is an O. Fr. *mêhaing*, low Lat. *mahamium*, from which Eng. *maim*, (also spelt *mahim*) appears to come.—Skeat. In Breton we find *machañ* in the same sense; but Diez is inclined to take the Lat. word from a supposed O. G. *man-hamjan* (Icel. *hamla*, Eng. *hamper*, cf. Germ. *hammel*). He mentions, however, that in the dialect of Como the simple form *maga* is found, which suggests that the word may be from the root MAK, 'to pound, bruise,' found in *macto*, *macula*, (?) *malleus*, etc. Cf. Sp. *majar* and *magullar*, 'to bruise'; Eng. *mangle*.

Malvagio, xiv. 111, xix. 144, 'bad.' Fr. *mauvais*. From Goth. *balvavesis*, 'wicked,' modified by confusion with Lat. *malus*. The adj. is not found, but is assumed from the sub. *balvavesei*, 'wickedness, malice.' The first part of this word implies a sub. *balvs*, Icel. *böl*, Eng. *bale*, as in *baleful*; the termination is cognate with German *wesen*.

Masnada, ii. 130, 'a troop.' Sp. *mesnada*. From low Lat. *mansionata*, 'a household.' Hence also Fr. *ménage*.

Mentre, ii. 26, etc., 'while.' Sp. *mientras*. From Lat. *dum*

interim. Of several suggested derivations this is the only one which fits at once the form and the meaning of the word. [The Spanish form looks as if there had been an idea that *trans* (in its later sense of 'between,' Italian *tra*) entered into the composition of the word.]

Merlo (1), xx. 6, 'battlement.' Fr. *merlon* (the space between two embrasures in a battery), Sp. *merlon*. From Lat. *moerulus*, diminutive of *moerus*=*murus*. Littré suggests a derivation from the next word, which does not seem applicable.

Merlo (2), xiii. 123, 'a blackbird.' Fr. *merle*, Sp. *merla*. From Lat. *merulus*; in classical Latin *merula*.

Moderno, xvi. 42, xxvi. 113, 'modern.' Fr. *moderne*, Sp. *moderno*. From late Lat. *modernus*, this from *modo*, 'now.'

Montone, viii. 134, 'a sheep, ram.' Fr. *mouton*. From low Lat. *multo*, originally 'a wether,' from *mutilus* (cf. Germ. *hammel*). Littré prefers to take it from the Celtic, e.g. Gael. *mult*, Bret. *maoud*. But are not these rather from the Latin? The objection to the derivation first given, that **montone** is used for 'a ram,' does not seem serious when we see that Germ. *widder* (Eng. *wether*)='a ram,' and *ocks* (Eng. *ox*)='a bull.'

Motto, ii. 25, etc., 'a word.' Fr. *mot*, Sp. *mote*. From low Lat. (probably colloquial) *muttum*. *Muttire* (Eng. *mutter*) is found in Terence and Persius.

Mozzo, xvi. 15, 'cut off.' Fr. *mousse*, 'blunted,' Sp. *mochó*. From Germ. *mutzen*; connected with Lat. *mutilus*, from which the Spanish probably comes directly.

Muso, iii. 81, xiv. 48, 'a muzzle,' and verb **ammusarsi**, xxvi. 35. Fr. *mouseau*. Diez is inclined, on account of the Prov. *mursel*, to derive it from Lat. *morsus*, the *r* disappearing as in *giuso*, from *deorsum*; but it seems simpler to take it from Goth. *munths*, A. S. *muð*, Eng. *mouth*.

Noiare, ix. 87, 'to hurt,' from **noia**. Fr. *ennui*, Sp. *enojo*, Eng. sb. and vb. *annoy*. From Lat. *in odio* (*esse, habere*, etc.) Dante's use of the verb suggests a confusion with *nocere*.

Ordire, xxxiii. 140, 'to set up the warp in the loom,' hence 'arrange.' Fr. *ourdir*, Sp. *urdir*. From low Lat. *ordire*=*ordiri*, 'to begin.'

Orlo, iv. 34, xi. 128, xxvi. 1, 'an edge, rim.' Fr. *orle*, verb *ourler* ('to hem'), Sp. *orla, orilla*. From a Lat. *orula*, diminutive of *ora*.

Orma, v. 2, ix. 60, xvii. 21, 'a track.' From Gr. *ὀσμή*, 'smell,'

hence 'scent.' Diez, who identifies it with Sp. *husmo*, verb *husmear*. (For the change of *s* into *r*, cf. *ciurma*, from *κέλευσμα*.)

Orza, xxxii. 117, 'the larboard sheet' (or rather, perhaps, 'brace'). Fr. *orse*, Sp. *orza* (in the phrase *orza de avante* = 'starboard your helm'). Probably from Germ. (dial.) *lurz*, 'left,' and so for *lorza*; the *l*, by a common confusion, having been taken for the article, and therefore dropped.

Pargoletta, xxxi. 59, 'a girl,' verb **pargoleggiare**, 'to play.' From Lat. *parvulus*. For the interchangeableness of *g* and *v* we may compare *Pagolo* from *Paulus* with *cavolo* from *caulis*.

Picchiare, x. 120, 'to squeeze together.' Fr. *pincer*, O. Fr. *pinchier*, Eng. *pinch*. So I think we must take the word here, as the ordinary sense of 'to knock' is quite out of place. Diez connects *pincer* with a Germ. *pfetsen*. (But v. sub **pigliare**.)

Picciolo, iii. 9, etc., 'small,' also *piccolo*. Sp. *pequeño*. Diez takes it from *pic* in the sense of 'a point,' hence 'a dot,' and considers that Fr. *petit* is from a different root, though one of a similar meaning. But as we have in Fr. *petiot*, beside (dial.) *p'chot*, *p'quiot*, *petignø*, there seems no reason for seeking a separate origin for the southern and northern forms.

Pigliare, ix. 56, etc., 'to take,' and compare **appigliarsi**, vii. 15, etc., 'to take hold,' also **impigliare**, v. 83, 'to entangle,' and **impigliarsi**, v. 10, etc., 'to be busy.' Fr. (late) *pillar*, Sp. *pillar*. From *pillare*, a late form of *pilare* (v. sub **compilare**; Comm. Cass. in note to xxiv. 55, writes: 'meas rimas *compillare*'). Hence sub. **piglio**, i. 49, etc., 'a grasp,' also (in iii. 64) 'mien, look.' (Cf. *countenance*, from *continere*.) I have followed Diez, but his derivation hardly seems fully to explain all the senses of this curious word. Looking to the resemblance in meaning as well as in form of **appigliare** to *apply*, and **impigliare** to *impicare* and *employ*, and also to **compigliare**, 'to embrace,' it is hard to avoid the belief that if not from the same root as Lat. *plicare* it has at least undergone some modification through a confusion with it. *Picchiare* being already in existence from another root, *pliculare* might easily become **pigliare**. We might even go so far as to take **picchiarsi** in x. 120, from the same. Cf. the forms 'veglio' and 'vecchio.' V. sub **picchiare**.

Piluccare, xxiv. 39, 'to pick' (lit. used of grapes, etc.), Fr. *éplucher*. From Lat. *pilus*, 'a hair,' hence properly 'to pull out hairs.' From the same are Fr. *peluche* and *perruque*, Sp. *peluca*. Germ. *pflücken*, Eng. *pluck*, are according to this view derived from the Rom. word. If it were the other way, we should have had

piuccare in Italian. It may be added that in German *pf* seems only to occur as the *p* of a foreign word.

Poggia, xxxii. 117, 'the starboard sheet,' or 'brace.' From Gr. *πῶδιον*, dim. of *πῶς*, in the sense of 'sheet' (as Od. v. 260); Lat. *pes*. There seems no particular reason why it should be the *starboard* sheet, but that *orza* (q. v.) was necessarily that on the port side.

Poggio, iii. 14, etc., 'a hill.' Fr. *puy*, Sp. *poyo* ('a bench'). From Lat. *podium*, originally 'the front bench in the amphitheatre' (Juvenal), 'a balcony' (Pliny). In late Latin it got the sense of 'a bank' (so *bank* and *bench* are forms of the same word), or 'mound.' Hence **appoggio**, iii. 18, 'a stay, support.' Fr. *appui*, Sp. *apoyo*.

Poltro, xxiv. 135, 'timid.' (?) Fr. *pleutre*; also *poltrone*, Fr. Sp. *poltron*, Eng. *poltron*. The original meaning seems to be 'lazy' (cf. Eng. *to palter*), and the word is probably from O. G. *polstar*, 'a pillow,' Eng. *bolster*, whence also Italian *boldrone*, 'a blanket,' and (dial.) *polter*, *poltrona*. [The old derivation from *pollice trunco*, even if it were etymologically admissible for *poltrone*, would clearly not account for the simple form.]

Predella, vi. 96, 'a headstall,' usually *predello*. Fr. *bride*, Sp. *brida*, Eng. *bridle*. From O. G. *priddel*, *brittil*. Connected with *briden*, 'to braid,' Icel. *bregða*, the bridle being braided or plaited. [Fr. *bretelles* would seem to be the same word, though Littré gives a different derivation.]

Rado, vii. 121, etc., 'rare.' From Lat. *rarus*. For the change of *r* into *d* cf. *chiedere* from *quaerere*, *proda* from *prora*.

Ramogna, xi. 25. Perhaps from Lat. *remus*, 'an oar.' Cf. Fr. *rame*, in the sense of 'a convoy.'—Littré. There can be no doubt of the meaning of the word, but its origin is obscure. It is curious that Diez has quite overlooked it.

Rampognare, xvi. 121, 'to reprove.' Literally 'to claw, tear,' from *rampone*, 'a hook.' Is not this akin to Gr. *ἄρπη*, 'a sickle'? *Rampare*, Fr. *rampier*, 'to climb,' *rampe* (but probably not *rempart*), are kindred words; also Lat. *rapere* (cf. *corripio* in the sense of 'to blame'), Germ. *raffen*, Eng. *rape*.

Rampollare, v. 16, xxvii. 42, 'to spring up.' From Lat. *repullulare* (with *m* inserted for euphony, as *n* in *rendere*), 'Rampollo significa nuovo ramo nato in sul vecchio.'—Landino, to v. 16. So **rampollo** in Conv. iv. 21, and Sp. *rampollo*, 'a cutting.' To xxvii. 42, however, Landino says: 'diciamo rampollar l' acqua, quando surge da terra,' which looks as if there was a confusion with *bullare*. So Guido Guinicelli, 'fonti d' acqua rampollavano.'

Rancura, x. 133, 'an unpleasant feeling.' Fr. *rancune*, Sp. *rencor*, Eng. *rancour*. From late Lat. *rancor*, lit. 'rancidness,' but used in the sense of 'malice.' (Cf. *putidus*.)

Recare, vi. 6, etc., 'to bring' (in xvi. 97, there seems to be a notion of 'referring,' as if the word was thought to be compounded with *re-*); from O. G. *recchēn*, modern *recken*, 'to stretch,' and so 'hold forth, offer.' Eng. *rack*, Icel. *rakkr*, 'straight,' are cognate words.

Rincalzare, ix. 72, 'to prop up,' 'sustain.' Properly 'to pile up the earth round a plant,' Fr. *enchausser*; from Lat. *calceus*, 'a shoe.'

Roba, xiii. 61, 'substance.' From O. G. *roub*, modern *raub*, 'booty, plunder.' It is, of course, the same as Fr. *robe*, Sp. *ropa*, Eng. *robe*, but in these it is confined to the special sense of clothing, whereas in Italian it is often just equivalent to 'stuff.'

Rocca, xxii. 148, 'a tower.' All commentators seem agreed in so understanding it, and if this be correct, it may mean, as Blanc says, a fortress among *rocks*; v. sub **roccia**. But may it not also be from the 'castle' in chess, It. *rocco*, Fr. *roc*, Eng. *rook*; from the Persian name of the piece, *rokh*, 'a camel'?

Roccia, iii. 47, etc., 'a rock.' Fr. *roche*. Perhaps from a supposed low Lat. *rupea*, from *rupes*. In this case *rocca*, Fr. *roc*, Sp. *roca*, must be from another form, *rupica*. But the root is found in all Celtic languages, so the word may have its direct origin thence.

Rocco, xxiv. 30, 'a pastoral staff.' From O. G. *rocco*, modern *rocken*, Icel. *rokkr*, M. E. *rock*, 'a distaff,' whence It. *rocca*, Sp. *rucca*. (Others take it as = *rocchetto*, 'a rochet,' Sp. *rocio*, 'a jerkin,' from Germ. *rock*.)

Rubesto, v. 125, 'swollen.' From Lat. *robustus*. '*Robustas, fluminis violentia, rapiditas.*'—Du Cange. Cf Eng. [*rumbustious*].

Rugiada, i. 121, etc., 'dew.' Fr. *rosée*, Sp. *ruxada*, *rociada*. From Lat. *ros*, through *roscidus*, whence we must suppose a verb, *roscidare*. The verb does not exist in Italian, but we have Fr. *arroser*, Sp. *rociar*, *ruxar*. The form of the Italian word suggests that it may have been borrowed from the Spanish.

Ruvido, ix. 98, 'rough.' From Lat. *ruidus*.—Pliny. This is the derivative given by Diez; but why should it not be from a Teutonic source—Germ. *rauh*, A. S. *rūh*, Eng. *rough*? The meaning of Pliny's word is not certain, but if it be correctly interpreted, it is probably from the same root.

Sbarro, xxxiii. 42, 'a hindrance.' Perhaps immediately from

O. G. *sparro*, mod. *sperren*, 'to lock,' but more probably formed from *barra*, Fr. *barre*, Eng. *bar*, of Celtic origin. (Hence *embarrass*.)

Scalappiarsi, xxi. 77, 'to escape from a snare.' From *calappio*, 'a noose,' properly 'trap,' 'clap-net.' This from an O. G. *klappjo* = *klappa*, mod. *klappe*, 'a flap or valve.' Hence also *chiappare*.

Scaltrire, xxvi. 3, 'to instruct.' Sp. (only in part) *escaldrido*, 'cunning' (which is probably taken from the Italian). Diez derives it from *scalpturire*, as if the original notion were 'to hew a rough block into shape,' and thinks that *calterire*, 'to gall,' may be the same word, with the *s* dropped. This is not satisfactory; and it seems better to accept Muratori's suggestion of *cauteriare* (or *-ire*) for the latter word—(cf. *calma*, from *καῦμα*)—and understand *scaltrire* as meaning primarily 'to heal a sore.'

Scarso, x. 13, xiv. 80, xx. 16, 'scant, niggard.' Fr. *échars* (used of base money and shifting winds), Sp. *escaso*, Eng. *scarce*. According to Muratori, whom Diez follows, from low Lat. *excarpsus*, for *excerptus*. I should be inclined rather to take it from a Teutonic root; that which gives Icel. *skera* (which used reflexively means 'to refuse') and *skarðr*, 'diminished,' A. S. *scéran*, Eng. *shear* and *short*.

Scemare, vii. 66, etc., 'to diminish.' O. Fr. *semer*. From low Lat. *semare*, literally 'to halve' (probably with *ex-* prefixed). But may it not be rather from a supposed *simare*? We only find *simus* in the sense of 'snub-nosed,' but it may very well have meant generally 'stunted.' (The chief objection would be that long *i* seldom becomes *e* in Italian, but the vowel of a verb in Latin sometimes has a different quantity from that of its kindred substantive.)

Scempio (1), xii. 55, 'an example, i.e. punishment.' From Lat. *exemplum*. The word had this meaning early, e.g. Ter. Eun. v. 4, ll. 24, 26. *Esempio* and *scempio* were differentiated by Tasso's time.

Scempio (2), xii. 133, xvi. 55, 'simple,' hence 'separate.' From a low Lat. *exsimplatius*, formed from *simplus* = *simplex*.

Schermo, x. 126, 'defence, screen.' O. Fr. *escren*, mod. *écran*; but these probably are from the English more immediately. From O. G. *skirm*, mod. *schirm*; whence verb *skerman*, 'to fight' (cf. Gr. ἀμύεσθαι), and from this Fr. *escrimer*, 'to fence,' Sp. *esgrimir*, and also probably *scaramuccia*, *escarmouche*, *skirmish*.

Schiantare, xx. 45, etc., 'to strip, tear.' Fr. (intr.) *éclater*, Sp. *estallar* for *eslatar*. From O. G. *skleizæn*, modern *schleissen*, Icel. *slíta*, Eng. *slit*, *slice* (and? *splít*, *splinter*).

Schietto, i. 95, xiii. 8, 'smooth.' From Goth. *slaihts*, Icel. *slétr*, Germ. *schlecht*, Eng. *slight*. [The original meaning is only

preserved in German in the adverbs *schlechthin*, *schlechtweg*; for the change in meaning of the adj. cf. *schlimm*, Eng. *slim*.]

Schivo, ii. 72, and **schifo**, xxvi. 45, 'shy.' Sp. *esquivo*, Icel. *skjarr*, Germ. *scheu*. Vb. *schivare*, Fr. *esquiver*. From O. G. *skiuhan*, modern *scheuen*.

Sciogliere, ii. 89, etc., 'to loose.' From *exsolvere*.—Diez. It is, however, the opposite of *accogliere*, which suggests that it may be from *excolligere*, as *scegliere* from *ex-seligere*. (For the softening of *c* cf. *ciascuno* from *quisque unus*. Note that *sci-* when followed by *a*, *o*, or *u*, almost invariably implies a Latin *ex-*.)

Scoccare, vi. 130, 'to go off, let off.' From *cocca*, 'the notch of the arrow,' Fr. *coche*, (?) Eng. *cock* (of a gun). Perhaps of Celtic origin. Eng. *cog* appears to be the same word.

Scoglio, ii. 122, 'the cast skin of a snake,' also **scoglia**. From M. G. *slûch*, Eng. *slough* (?) Icel. *slóg*, 'the entrails of fish', connected with Gr. *σκύλον*, 'a hide.' This is, according to Curtius, quite distinct from *σκύλον*, Lat. *spolium*, from which Diez, following Dict. Crusc., wishes to derive the word. Vanzon says 'quasi *scaglia*,' which is hardly more satisfactory.

Scorgere, xvii. 18, xxi. 21, 'to direct,' sub. **scorta**, i. 21, etc., 'an escort.' Fr. *escorte*, Sp. *escorta*. From Lat. *ex-corrigere*. See **accorgere**.

Scorno, x. 33, 'shame, scorn.' From *scornare*. This from *ex-cornare*, 'to take the horns off.' Chaucer's 'the fesaunt scorner of the cocke by night' (Assembly of Foules) suggests a somewhat different original meaning.

Scotto, xxx. 144, 'payment.' Fr. *écot*, Sp. *escote*. From low Lat. *scotum*, this from O. G. *scaz* ('then jungiston scaz'='the uttermost farthing'), modern *schatz*, Icel. *skattr*, Eng. *scot* and *shot*. [Mod. Germ. *schoss* looks very much like a corruption, due perhaps to the influence of the English word. In spite of the change of vowel the meanings of the Teutonic and Romance words are so similar that it seems hardly possible to doubt their connexion.]

Senno, vi. 137, etc., 'sense, wisdom.' From O. G. *sin*, modern *sinn*. The word, which formerly existed in both Fr. and Sp., is now only represented by the Fr. *forcé*, 'insane,' formerly *forse*, i.e. *foris-sennatus*.

Smagare (and **dismagare**), iii. 11, etc., 'to weaken, undo.' Sp. *desmayar*, Eng. *dismay*. Fr. only in sub. (obsolete) *émoi*. From Rom. prefix *dis-* and O. G. *magan*, modern *mögen*, 'to be able,' Icel. *mega*, Eng. *may*. [Still better would be the transitive form, if such existed in Goth. or O. G. corresponding to Icel. *magna*, 'to enable,

strengthen.'] In one passage, xix. 20, it seems not impossible that Dante confused it with *magus*.

Smalto, viii. 114, 'enamel.' Fr. *émail*, Sp. *esmalte*. From O. G. *smelzan*, mod. *schmelzen*, Eng. *smelt* and *melt*. That this is the true derivation is pretty clear from the fact that *smeltr* passed early into Icel. in the sense of 'enamel.'

Smarrire, i. 119, viii. 63, xix. 14, etc., 'to make dim, bewilder.' Fr. (part.) *marri*, 'grieved' (obs.), Sp. *marrar*, 'to go astray.' From low Lat. *marrire*, this from Goth. *marzjan*, O. G. *marran*, Eng. *mar*. (The root is found in all Aryan languages, and appears in Gr. *βροτός* and *μαρτύρ*, Lat. *mors* and *marceo*, Goth. *maurthr*, Eng. *murder*, etc.)

Sobbarcarsi, vi. 135, 'to undertake.' Sp. *sobargar*, 'to carry under the arm.' From Lat. *brachium*, through a supposed *sub-brachicare*. According to Bianchi and Post. Gg. the notion is 'to gird up the garments,' but this seems unnecessary.

Soma, xi. 37, etc., 'a burthen.' Fr. *somme* (whence *assommer*), and *sôme*, Sp. *salma* and *xalma*, Germ. *saum* (in *saumthier*, Eng. *sumpter*, and *säumen*). From low Lat. *salma* = *sagma*, Gr. *σάγμα*.

Sozzo, xvi. 13, 'foul.' Sp. *sucio*. From Lat. *sucidus*, properly of uncleansed wool with the grease in it.

Spada, viii. 26, etc., 'a sword.' Fr. *épée*, Sp. *espada*. From late Lat. *spatha*, 'a blade, a broadsword,' Gr. *σπάθη* (which also has this sense). It is not, however, impossible that *spatha*, in this sense, may be a Celtic word.

Spalla, viii. 42, etc., 'a shoulder.' Fr. *épaule*, Sp. *espalda*. From low Lat. *spatula*, 'the shoulder-blade,' dim. of *spatha* (and perhaps confused with *scapula*).

Spazzo, xxiii. 70. In this passage I take it to be used in the sense of the Lat. *spatium*, 'a race-course,' not in its more usual meaning of 'ground or pavement.'

Spegner, iii. 132, 'to extinguish.' From Lat. *ex-pingere* in the sense of 'to paint out,' but evidently confused with *extinguere*, if not with *expendere*. The part. *spento* may often be rendered by 'spent.'

Spia, xvi. 84, 'a scout,' verb *espiare*, xxvi. 36, 'to search out.' Fr. *épier*, Sp. *espiar*, Eng. *spy*, *espy*. From O. G. *spehōn*, mod. *spähen*, Icel. *spá* ('to prophesy'). Connected with Gr. *σκοπέω*, Lat. *spicio*.

Spola, xxxi. 96, 'a shuttle.' Fr. *espoile*, Sp. *espolin*. From O. G. *spuolo*, mod. *spule*, Eng. *spool*. Perhaps cognate with Gr. *σφύρα*. [It is curious, looking to the reading of Gg. given at the

passage, and the explanation of it, to observe that *schiff* is used in Germ. to denote a shuttle.]

Squilla, viii. 5, 'a bell.' Sp. *esquila*. From O. G. *skilla*, mod. *schelle*.

Stancare, x. 19, 'to weary.' Identical with Fr. *étancher*, Sp. *estancar*, Eng. *staunch*. From Lat. *stagnum*, properly 'to dam up water.' The transition of meaning is not very hard to follow from the idea of damming up to that of stopping the flow, hence the force of anything. Littré gives instances of the use of the Fr. word (which otherwise, like the Spanish and English, preserves the original meaning), as applied to horses in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Storpio, xxv. 1, (perhaps 'a hindrance,' but) probably for **storpiato**, from **storpiare** (also **stroppiare**, and in xxxiii. 42 some read **stroppio**), 'to cripple.' Fr. *estropier*, Sp. *estropear* (also *tropezar*, 'to stumble'). Perhaps from *extorpidare*. Cf. Germ. *tropf*, 'a blockhead.'

Strale, xxxi. 55, 'an arrow.' From O. G. *strâla*, or M. G. *strâl*, mod. *strahl*, 'a ray.' Connected with *star*, and (perhaps) *strew*.

Tagliare, xii. 97, 'to cut.' Fr. *tailler*, Sp. *tallar* and *tajar*. From low Lat. *taliare*, this from *talea*, 'a cutting of a plant,' also 'a stake.' The original meaning is therefore 'to cut wood,' as in Fr. *taillis*. Sub. **taglio**, xxxi. 3, 'an edge.'

Tirare, xiv. 146, etc., 'to draw.' Fr. *tirer*, Sp. *tirar*. From Goth. *tairan*, Germ. *zerren*, Eng. *tear*. In the earliest example given by Littré it is used of pulling out the hair in anger, subsequently all idea of violence passed out of the word.

Toccare, ii. 117, etc., 'to touch.' Fr. *toucher* and *toquer*, Sp. *tocar*. According to Diez from O. G. *zuchôn*, mod. *zucken*, which appears to be a frequentative of *ziuhan*, *ziehen*, 'to draw.' There does not, however, appear to be any reason why it should not come from the simple verb. Goth. *tiûhan*, Icel. *tjúga*, Eng. *tug*. The original idea was evidently that of drawing; thus in O. Fr. *se toucher de = se tirer de*, and the mod. Fr. construction with *à* no doubt arises from this. [Fr. *toque*, 'a cap,' is generally taken to be a Celtic word, but it may well be 'something drawn on.']

Tornare, ii. 81, etc., 'to turn, return.' Fr. *tourner*, Sp. *tornar*. From Lat. *tornare*, 'to turn in a lathe,' this from *tornus*, 'a lathe,' Gr. *τόρνος*, 'a tool for drawing circles.' Connected with *relpeiv*, 'to rub,' *ροπεῖν*, 'to bore,' Lat. *tero*, O. G. *drâjan*, mod. *drehen*.

Tosto, i. 17, etc., adv. 'soon,' ii. 133, etc., adj. 'quick.' Fr. *tôt* (only adv. except perhaps in the phrase, *au plus tôt*). From Lat.

tostus, part. of *torreo*, hence literally 'hot' (cf. *calere*; also the use of *torrens* for a rapid stream). [The derivation from *tot-cito*, which Diez suggests as an alternative, and Brachet adopts, is almost certainly wrong. Those who prefer it must find evidence that *tot* was ever used for *tam*, and must account for the adjectival use, which is quite as old as the adverbial.]

Trapelare, xxx. 88, 'to filter through.' Probably from *pelo*, 'hair,' Lat. *pilus*, as if 'to strain through a hair-sieve.' *Pelo*, however, means also 'a crack in a wall,' so the word may mean 'to trickle through cracks.'

Trastullo, xiv. 93, 'amusement,' and vb. **trastullare**, xvi. 90. From O. G. *stulla*, 'a moment,' probably connected with *stunde*. Cf. Eng. *pastime*. For the Rom. prefix cf. **smagare**.

Travagliare, xxi. 4, 'to weary, oppress.' From *travaglio*, Fr. *travail*, Sp. *trabajo*. Dante also has (Inf. vii. 20) the fem. **travaglia**. Diez considers that the simple form is found in Prov. *travar*, 'to fetter, hamper.' Fr. *entraver*, from *trabs*, 'a beam,' the idea being of a prisoner fastened to a log; cf. Sp. *trabar*. M. Paul Meyer has recently suggested a derivation from low Lat. *trepalium*, 'a place of torture'; but it is hard to see how this will account for the meaning of *travaglio*, 'a pen for a restive animal,' *travail* (found at least as early as the 13th cent.), 'a beam for attaching a horse while being shod,' or Sp. *travas*, 'shackles'; while the derivation from *trabs* explains them all. It should be observed that in Dante, as in early French (where it is usually coupled with 'douleur' or 'peine'), the word has always a bad meaning; the sense of 'work' is later. [In Par. xxxiii. 114 it is probably a different word.]

Tregua, xiv. 136, xvii. 75, 'truce, cessation.' French *trêve*, Sp. *tregua*. From low Lat. *treuga*, this from O. G. *triuwa*, mod. *treue*, Goth. *triggva*, akin to Icel. *tryggð*, A. S. *treowð*, Eng. *troth*.

Trescare, x. 65, 'to dance.' Sp. *triscar* ('to stamp'). From Goth. *thriskan*, Germ. *dreschen*, Eng. *thresh*; which in *threshold* actually has the meaning 'to beat with the feet.'

Trovare, vi. 150, etc., 'to find.' Fr. *trouver*. From Lat. *turbare*, the original idea being 'to disturb by seeking.' This derivation is rendered almost certain by the fact that in its earliest use the word seems to have meant 'to seek' as well as to find, and in some languages (e.g. Portuguese and Neapolitan) to have even retained the original meaning of 'to disturb.' The use of *trovar* in Sp. as 'to pervert the sense of words' seems also to arise from this, though it may be with a satirical allusion to the word in its sense of 'to write poetry.'

Tuono, ix. 139, xiv. 134, xxix. 152, 'thunder,' verb **tonar**, xiv. 138. Fr. *tonner*, Sp. *tronar*. In ix. 139 the word appears to mean merely 'a tone,' from Lat. *tonus*. This from Gr. *τόνος* (*telw*) = 'the tone or note of a string.' In the other passages it is from *tonare*, 'to thunder,' which, though from the same root, is not directly formed from *tonus*, any more than Germ. *donner* from *dehnen*.

Uscio, ix. 130, xxx. 139, 'a door.' Fr. *huis* (now only in phrase 'à huis clos'). From Lat. *ostium*; whence also (through adjective *ostiarus*) Fr. *huissier*, Sp. *uxier*, Eng. *usher*.

Uscire, ii. 24, etc., 'to go out, issue.' Also *escire*, O. Fr. *issir*. The form in *u* probably arises from a confusion with the foregoing word; but cf. *uguale*, from *aequalis*.

Vago, iii. 13, etc., 'desirous,' xix. 22, xxxii. 135, 'wandering.' The first meaning seems to be derived from the second, through the idea of wandering from one object to another.

Valco, xxiv. 97, 'a stride,' **varco**, xi. 41, etc., 'a passage,' verb **varcare**, vii. 54, etc. From low Lat. *varicare*, 'to walk,' which Diez takes to be identical with *varicare*, 'to straddle,' from *varus*. It is, perhaps, better to connect it with the Teutonic root which appears in Icel. *válka*, to roll, 'wallow,' Germ. *wallen* and *walken*, A. S. *wealcan*, *weallan*, Eng. *walk*, which also appears in *gallop*. V. sub **galoppo**.

Vermiglio, ii. 7, etc., 'vermilion.' Fr. *vermeil*, Sp. *bermejo*. From *vermiculus*, i.e. the cochineal insect. The colour is thus different from that which we now call vermilion, i.e. cinnabar, but as late as Shakespeare (see Sonnet xcvi. 'the deep vermilion in the rose') the word is used to denote what we now call crimson. [Note that *crimson*, Fr. *cramoisi*, being ultimately from Sanskrit *krimi*, 'a worm,' cognate with *vermis*, is from the same root as *vermilion*.]

Vernaccia, xxiv. 24, 'a white wine.' M. E. *vernage* (Chaucer, 'Merchant's Tale'). Said by some to be from *Verona*, but it would seem more likely that it means 'wine which has gone through a hard winter' (*vernaccio*). Cf. the Swiss *vin du glacier*.

Vigliare, xviii. 66, 'to winnow, sift.' According to Diez from *verriculare*, this from *verriculum*, 'a net,' from *verrere*, 'to sweep.' I should prefer to take it from a supposed *vinnulare*, this from low Lat. *vinna*, which means 'a trap for fish' (like our eel-baskets), whence Fr. *vanne*, 'a flood-gate,' connected with Eng. *winnow* and *fan*. The modern *vagliare* is certainly from *vannulus*, dim. of *vannus*.

Vivagno, xxiv. 127, 'an edge, margin.' A very obscure word, not given by Diez. It seems properly to mean 'the list of cloth.' May it be connected with Lat. *vibex*, 'a weal, stripe'? We should thus have **vibicagna* from *vibex*, as 'cuticagna' (Inf. xxxii. 97) from 'cutis.'

Vizzo, xxv. 27, 'soft,' hence 'easy.' From Lat. *vietus*, which seems to mean 'easily bent.'

Voto, vi. 89, xxxii. 31, 'empty.' Fr. *vide*, O. Fr. *vuit*, Eng. *void*. From Lat. *viduus*. Diez, however, doubts the connexion of the Ital. and Fr. words, and suggests that the former is contracted for *volto*, in the sense of 'vaulted over,' and hence 'hollow,' which is not very satisfactory. May it not be from *vacatus*, as *gota* (q. v.) from *gabata*? The objection is that the form *vuoto* seems to imply a short *o*.

THE END

